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LONDON

ITS ORIGIN AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

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BY

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WILLIAM FREDERICK DANVERS

VISCOUNT HAMBLEDEN

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PREFACE

In dealing with the early history of London there are many points which are controversial and some that are speculative. In the case of controversial questions I have not considered it necessary to combat the views from which I dissent, and have been content to give my own interpretation of the evidence, or else to adopt the views of those with whom I agree. Speculation is unavoidable where direct evidence fails and resort has to be had to analogy. This is so with regard to the study of the administration of London during the Saxon period. For this reason the subject has been avoided hitherto. Research, however, seems to point to the elucidation of many of the difficulties of this time by the study of the institutional history of Scandinavia and Denmark. Norsemen and Danes were the principal traders for two centuries before the Conquest, and London, essentially a trading town, was strongly influenced by them. Further research in this direction is needed to understand the later government of London, for it would seem there was no clean sweep of English institutions immediately after the Conquest.

The Roman and Norman periods of the history of London have attracted many students. Most important for the history of the Roman period is the scholarly work of the late Prof. F. Haverfield, to whom and to Sir Arthur Evans for his most suggestive numismatic discoveries and to my colleagues working on the Romano-British chapter in the *Victoria County History of London*, I am much indebted. For the Norman and Angevin periods I have received guidance

from the works of Dr. Horace Round, to whom all students of these times owe much. To the researches of the late Miss Mary Bateson and Mr. C. L. Kingsford, which are so illuminating, I am also much indebted.

The chapter on the Sokes of London is based upon an article which I contributed to the *Nineteenth Century and After*, and I have to thank the editor and proprietors of that magazine for permission to adapt the article to its present use, and for leave to reproduce the sketch map which accompanied it.

I am under a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Horace Round and Professor Tait for reading the proofs of the chapters on Norman London and Early Government, and for various corrections and suggestions which they made. I wish also to express my thanks to Miss M. V. Taylor for reading the proofs of the chapter on Roman London ; to Mr. A. H. Thomas, Keeper of the City of London Records, for the use of notes regarding the early charters of the City ; to Miss N. O'Farrell, for searches at the Public Record Office and elsewhere, and to Miss Isabel Slater for careful translations from Norwegian and Danish works.

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LONDON

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CHAPTER I

ROMAN LONDON

THE site of London seems originally to have formed a part of the great forest area which covered what is now the county of Middlesex and extended into Hertfordshire and Essex. Although implements used by the people of the Stone and Bronze Ages during the long period they occupied the country, have been discovered scattered over these lands, they do not necessarily indicate any settlement at London as has been suggested,[1] and indeed the site of London was not a position that would be attractive to such people. Coming to the Celtic period, there are some indefinite evidences of pile dwellings at the mouth of the Fleet and at Finsbury which are, however, of uncertain date and are situated outside the walls of the city.[2]

It is not until the very end of the late Celtic Age that we have some shadowy idea of the existence of a settlement at

[1] Gomme, *The Making of London*, 24, 33, 34.

[2] The piles found at the Fleet and Finsbury may possibly have been those upon which Roman buildings were erected. Sir Lawrence Gomme imagined that a Celtic stronghold must have stood on Ludgate Hill, but no evidence of it seems to have been found. *Ibid.*, 18, 20.

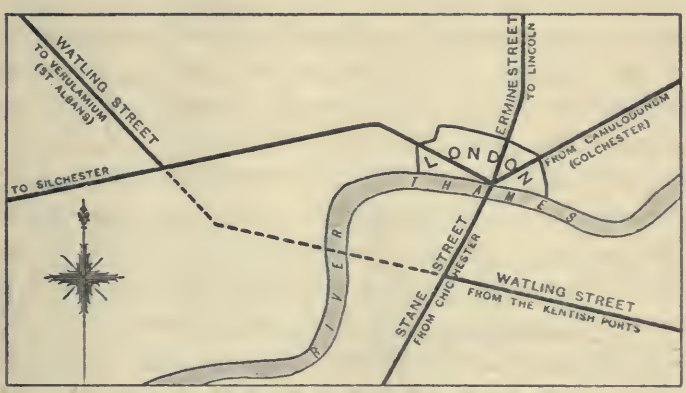
London. The objective of Cæsar's march at the time of his invasion of 54 B.C. was the "oppidum" or stronghold of Cassivellaunus, the head of the confederated tribes of south-east Britain. There can be little doubt that this stronghold was Verulamium,[3] near St. Albans, for here was the seat of government of his successor Tasciovanus, the capital of the south-east, if not of all, Britain, and here was a place which answered in all respects to the description given by Cæsar of the "oppidum" of the British prince. The trade route from the Kentish ports and so from the Continent consequently seems to have followed a course which had this capital town for its objective. It would therefore make for the lowest safe ford across the Thames which gave convenient access to Verulamium, and such a ford was apparently found from Lambeth to Westminster, whence the road followed a north-westerly course to St. Albans. On the death of Tasciovanus, however, in A.D. 5, his successor Cunobeline, the Cymbeline of Shakespear, transferred his seat of government to Camulodunum or Colchester.[4] This change required a rearrangement of the trade route to the new capital, as the old road crossing the river at Westminster would take the traveller far out of his way. A new passage over the river was therefore found further to the east between what are now Southwark and London, from which a road was apparently made direct to Colchester. A ford at this point, although it would be passable at low water,[5] would be dangerous and insufficient for the

[3] Cf. *V.C.H. Herts*, iv, 121.

[4] Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons* (1864), p. 289

[5] In the Anglo-Saxon Chron. under the year 1114 it is recorded as an extraordinary occurrence that there was so great an ebb of the tide that men went riding and walking over the Thames eastward of London Bridge, a thing that no man remembered before.

traffic. Hence a timber bridge was probably erected either at the time of the divergence of the road or during the Claudian invasion. The construction of such a bridge would present only slight difficulties even to the Britons, for the river here is narrow and of no great depth, but considering the strong Roman influence which had been established at the court of the British princes Tasciovanus and Cunobeline, after the invasion of Cæsar, it is quite conceivable that Roman engineers were employed on the work.[6]



Sketch Map showing Roman Road System.

We know that a bridge over the Thames existed in this neighbourhood at the time of the Claudian invasion of A.D. 43,[7] and there is a strong presumption that this bridge connected Southwark and London. In confirmation of this theory it is recorded that when taking down old London Bridge a series

[6] We have some idea of the intimate intercourse with the Roman Empire at this time by the adoption of Latin inscriptions upon British coins and the costly importations from Italy which have been found. *V.C.H. Herts*, iv, 122, 126, 130, 165.

[7] Dion Cassius, Bk. lx, cap. 20.

of Roman coins dating from the time of Augustus (31 B.C. to A.D. 14) was discovered in the bed of the Thames, and there can be little doubt that these coins were dropped by passengers crossing the river. Further than this, pottery, attributed to the early part of the first century, has been found at or near to the approaches to the crossing on either side of the river.[8] Settlements would arise both at the north and south ends of the crossing, each owing its origin to the passage across the river. Possibly, and perhaps naturally, Southwark being nearer to travellers from abroad, was the earlier settlement, and the pottery discovered here seems to indicate that this was so.[9] The northern end of the crossing may thus have been claimed as the "bridgehead" to the southern settlement, and this may possibly account for the fact that in early times London is referred to as in the territory of the Cantii or people of Kent.[10] But the advantages of the high lands of London over the marshes of Southwark would soon be recognized, besides which they formed the only ground for many miles to the east which rose to any height above the swamps which border the lower parts of the left bank of the Thames. The river also at this point provided an excellent anchorage-ground for ships, while the mouth of the Walbrook was a safe harbour, and the somewhat high banks to the east of it afforded good positions for wharves. Thus London, though not in the middle of Britain, was by reason of its bridge and its advantages as a port, a convenient

[8] *V.C.H. London*, i, 106, 109; *V.C.H. Surrey*, iv, 371–8.

[9] Haverfield, *Roman London*, 146.

[10] Ptolemy so places London (*Geographia*, ii, 3, 12); London was the place of refuge of the men of Kent after the Battle of Crayford in 457 (Anglo-Saxon Chron. sub anno); and Saebert early in the seventh century held London under his uncle Ethelbert of Kent (*Ibid.*, anno 604).

centre for the distribution and collection of overseas and inland traffic. Such a position could not fail to attract merchants and others, and a trading town quickly rose to prosperity and wealth.

The name London is Celtic, and therefore it may be argued that at least the site was of sufficient importance to have had a name before the Roman conquest of A.D. 43.[11] The coins, pottery and other objects of the late Celtic period found both in London and Southwark all belong to the first century, and it is to the early part of this century that we may possibly attribute the foundations of the settlements both at London and Southwark.[12] This date would agree with the views of the late Professor Haverfield, whose knowledge of Roman Britain was supreme and whose deductions are invariably sound. His opinion was that "either there was no pre-Roman London or it was a small and undeveloped settlement which may have been on the south bank of the Thames."

Camulodunum, as already stated, having become the chief town of south-eastern Britain, was the objective of the Roman invaders of A.D. 43. Aulus Plautius, the Roman general, landed on the Kentish coast with three legions and marched inland by a route that approximately followed the line of Watling Street. The Britons again adopted the tactics they

[11] Cf. Haverfield, op. cit., 145.

[12] Too much stress must not perhaps be laid on the sporadic finds of coins of Augustus (31 B.C. to A.D. 14) and Claudius (A.D. 41 to 54), but a collection of iron coins plated with silver, forming part of a forger's apparatus, the latest coin of which is one of Claudius, found in King William Street, cannot have been later than that date (*V.C.H. London*, i, 106. Cf. the account of the forged coins of Claudius found at Gloucester. S. Lysons, *Relig. Brit.*, ii, pl. xv and text). The discovery of late Celtic objects includes bronze spoons at Brick Hill Lane and the Thames, a helmet at Moorgate Street, a bronze fragment, a coin of Cunobeline and a bronze enamelled shield. (Haverfield, op. cit., 145n.)

had used at Cæsar's invasion nearly a century before and are used in nearly every war in which the physical features of the country are suitable. They concentrated their forces behind a river which there can be little doubt was the Medway, and being driven from their position there retired to the Thames " where it discharges itself into the ocean and becomes an estuary at high tide."[13] This they crossed with ease, being well acquainted with the parts where the river was fordable, and took up a position on the north bank. With the Roman army were some auxiliaries from Gaul who were apparently accustomed to fighting in the Low Countries, and they, by swimming the river, were able to turn the British left flank. In the meantime the main Roman army forced the passage of a bridge that lay a little way up stream and thus the Britons found themselves attacked on both flanks. After heavy losses the Britons fled towards Colchester, and in the pursuit many of the Romans, not knowing the country, perished by " wandering into the pathless marshes." The site of this engagement was possibly in the neighbourhood of Tower Hill, the marsh-lands being perhaps where Wapping, Shadwell and the London and St. Katherine's Docks now lie, and the bridge no other than a predecessor of Old London Bridge, presumptive evidence of whose existence at this time has already been shown. This is the only district which seems to fit the requirements of Dion's description. Tower Hill would be a good tactical position with sufficient room for manœuvring an army of those days. It would have the wet marshes to the east into which the Britons apparently enticed their Roman pursuers. There could scarcely have been a bridge lower down the Thames than London, and to find a spot higher

[13] Dion Cassius, loc, cit.

up that would suit the narrative we should have to go beyond Westminster and Fulham.

When Aulus Plautius had gained a footing on the north bank of the Thames he did not feel that his force was strong enough to advance further; he therefore consolidated his position and, according to Dion, waited with the main part of his army on the south side of the Thames for the Emperor Claudius to come with reinforcements. This took some time, and it was probably not until the following year that the advance on Colchester began. In the meantime it would seem probable that the Romans occupied London, for a settlement there, which the Romans could not have ignored, seems proved by coins and pottery. Presuming the bridge mentioned by Dion was at London, it would have been necessary to secure the bridgehead in order to retain the foothold on the north bank of the river and to maintain the line of communication with the base at the Kentish ports and with the Continent.

Claudius joined the forces which awaited him near the Thames. He then crossed the river and must have passed through London on his way to Camulodunum. With the fall of that town the whole of the south-east of Britain passed under Roman dominion.[14] The legions then marched on to the conquest of the rest of the country, the second legion to the south-west, the fourteenth and twentieth to the midlands and north-west, and the ninth to Lincoln and the east.

The eastern part of Britain northward to the Wash was soon brought under Roman dominion. Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, a tribe occupying approximately Norfolk and Suffolk, made terms with the Romans and was allowed to retain his

[14] Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii, App., pp. 347–8.

kingdom. On his death he left as a matter of policy one-half his possessions to the Emperor and the other to his daughters. The Roman officials, on the pretext of acting in the Emperor's interest, seized all his property. The relatives of Prasutagus disputed the Roman claim, and for their opposition to the arbitrary action of the Romans, Boadicea, widow of Prasutagus, was scourged, his daughters ravished and his relatives enslaved.[15] This brought the Iceni to arms, and the smouldering embers of discontent caused by the overbearing behaviour of the veterans planted as a colony at Camulodunum, burst into flame. In A.D. 60 Camulodunum fell an easy prey to the Britons, who massacred the inhabitants. Suetonius, then governor of Britain, who was with the army in North Wales, hurried with a small body of men to London, which is now mentioned for the first time in history.[16] Here he proposed to set up his head-quarters in order to secure his line of communication with the Continent. The Britons, seeing the importance of the position, threatened London with all their forces. London at that time, like Camulodunum, being without defences, Suetonius saw it would be impossible to hold it with the small body of men at his disposal. He was therefore reluctantly compelled to abandon it as the only means of saving the whole province, and having made that decision, neither the supplication of the men nor the tears of the women of the Roman and Romano-British inhabitants, could move him to alter it. Taking with him those among the citizens who could stand the campaign, he set out to rejoin the main body of his army then marching from Wales, leaving London

[15] Tacitus, *Annals*, Bk. xiv, cap. xxxi.

[16] It was at that time probably on his direct route to Colchester; Mommsen, op. cit., ii, 349.

with its old men, women and children to its fate. The Iceni and the confederated tribes almost immediately fell upon the defenceless city, destroyed it and killed all whom they found there. The same disaster befell Verulamium, and in these three Romanised towns there were massacred, it is said, 70,000 persons.[17] In them the Roman government of south-east Britain was largely concentrated. Camulodunum was a "colonia" inhabited by Roman veterans, Verulamium was a "municipium" with privileges only granted to highly Romanised towns, and London, most Roman of the three, was the centre of trade and commerce, of which the Britons were no doubt jealous but quite unfitted to practise. With the destruction of these towns the Britons imagined that their freedom from the Roman yoke would be obtained.

Suetonius with his flying column, followed by the full force of the Britons, was able to retire on his main army which was probably marching along the line of Watling Street. At a point which has not been identified, a battle was fought in which the Britons were beaten and fled in disorder. After her defeat Boadicea, who led the Britons, ended her life by taking poison.

London must have greatly prospered after these events. Tacitus describes it as a place not dignified with the name of a colony, but the chief residence in Britain of merchants and the great market for trade and commerce.[18] From pottery, coins and other archæological evidence it would appear that it made a speedy recovery from the damage done by the Iceni and their confederates. We know that at this time it covered a very small part of its later area, and the

[17] Tacitus, loc. cit. These numbers must be taken with caution.
[18] *Ibid.*

extent of this limited district has been very ingeniously ascertained by Mr. R. A. Smith, who shows that at the head of the bridge there is a small district approximately bounded by the Walbrook on the west, St. Mary-at-Hill and Rood Lane on the east, Cornhill on the north and Thames Street on the south[19] within which no burials have been found, but without it, yet within the area later enclosed by the walls, burials both by incineration or after reduction to ashes, and inhumation or interment, are numerous. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that whereas by the Roman sanitary laws no burials were permitted in urban areas, the district without burials around the bridgehead will approximately give us the extent of the earliest town.[20]

It is a recognised rule that in the development of towns the plans of those which are laid out at one time are rectilinear or of a gridiron form, and those which grow gradually are concentric or of a spider's web arrangement. Most of the Roman sites are of the former plan, the ramparts and ditches of the British cantonal towns such as Leicester, Silchester, Chichester, Aldborough and many others were adopted as the bounds and defences of the Roman towns, and the areas within them were laid out at one time with that chess-board regularity which is usually to be met with on Roman sites. But London was not a cantonal town, and was for a long time unrestricted by ramparts and ditches. The selection of the site was for trading purposes, and the small original settlement gradually grew outwards from the bridgehead as a centre. Its plan may therefore have been rather concentric than rectilinear, which would account for the shape which

[19] These streets will be seen on map, p. 175.
[20] *V.C.H. London*, i, 42.

the line of the walls assumed. The evidence of the remains of streets and buildings is insufficient to decide this point, but it is probable that roads ran from the bridge to the gates which would make it difficult to fit in a rectilinear plan.

Unfortunately the numerous burials within the walls do not give much help in assigning any reliable date to the extension of the city. There is but one recorded cinerary urn containing a coin, that of Claudius (A.D. 41–54), as the fee of Charon, the ferryman over the Styx, which was found at Warwick Square just within the western wall, and one skeleton discovered at Bow Lane that held in his teeth for a like fee a coin said to be of Domitian (A.D. 81–96).[21] These burials only show that the extension of the city had not reached the western side of the Walbrook in the first century, which is corroborated by the discovery of kilns apparently of that date in St. Paul's churchyard.[22]

As might be expected, the most densely inhabited part of the city was the original settlement at the bridgehead, and the houses become more scattered towards the outskirts of the town. The foundations of Roman houses at Warwick Square and other outlying parts suggest villas in a district which was at one time suburban and later became incorporated in the city. Thus we must assume that the expansion of Lon-

[21] Mr. R. A. Smith on the evidence of Abbé Cochet suggests that inhumation was not practised by the Romans until the second half of the third century, but if the attributed date of this coin is correct, it seems to have been in use much earlier in London. Burials in stone sarcophagi were not made around London until the fourth century, and none have been found within the walls. *V.C.H. London*, i, 18, citing *Normandie Souterraine* (1855), ed. 2, 29, 165; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, xix, 209.

[22] *V.C.H. London*, i, 92. Such kilns would not have been allowed in urban areas. The discovery of clay and rubbish pits in the outer parts of London indicate that these districts were not inhabited. *Arch.* lxiii, 285; xvi, 238, 270, 272.

don gradually continued until it was arrested by the building of the city walls, the date of which again is a matter of controversy. Mr. F. W. Reader and others argue from the evidence of coins found in the Walbrook that they were built, at the latest, by the middle of the second century ; Mr. R. A. Smith, on the other hand, attributes them to the fourth century ; while the late Prof. Haverfield would place them at the end of the third century.[23] The arguments in favour of the last-mentioned time seem perhaps the most plausible. This date would agree with the constructional details, and it was a period when the building of city walls in the western provinces of the empire had become a customary precaution against the raids of the barbarians. In Britain it was a necessity during the lack of authority and the constant disturbances caused by the usurpations of Postumus, Tetricus, Bonosus, Proculus and others who claimed this country as part of their dominions. This period, too, is probably the most usual for the depositing of hoards of Romano-British coins, a sure indication that property was insecure and the country disturbed.[24] A hoard of about 500 denarii found in Lime Street must have been buried a little after 250,[25] and another containing a smaller number of coins found between two skeletons at Ewer Street, Southwark, is some twenty years later.[26]

The walls enclosed about 322 acres, an area far exceeding any other Romano-British site and indeed larger than most towns of the Roman period in north-west Gaul, the extent of land enclosed being another argument against the early date of the walls. The material of which the walls were built was

[23] Haverfield, op. cit., 158
[24] *V.C.H. Leicester*, i, 180–1, where a list of such hoards is given.
[25] *V.C.H. London*, i, 108. [26] *Ibid.*, 137.

rubble faced with local Kentish stone with bonding courses of two or three layers of tiles at intervals of about 3 feet. The thickness was about 8 feet 6 inches towards the base and the height probably from 20 feet to 25 feet. The bastions, which have the appearance of having been built hastily of any material that came to hand, are of a late period of the Roman occupation. Outside the walls was a berme or platform about 15 feet wide, and then a ditch of varying width and depth but of slight dimensions in comparison with those of other Romano-British towns where, having at one time no masonry walls, they depended solely upon their earthen defences. The River Walbrook passed through the wall by culverts protected by iron bars. Either during the Roman occupation or a little after, the culverts became blocked, causing the formation outside the wall of a morass which was later known as the Moor, a name that still survives in Moorgate and Moorfields.[27] There were apparently four gates, approximately on the sites of Newgate, Aldersgate, Bishopsgate and Aldgate, and a postern at Ludgate. Of these, Newgate is the only gate of which we have a plan and to which we can assign with certainty the exact locality.[28] It consisted of a double gateway between two flanking towers.

No definite evidence of the actual lay-out of the town nor of the position of a forum, basilica, temples or theatre has come to light, but the foundations of walls which from their size and substantial character apparently belonged to public buildings have been found near Leadenhall Market. It has been suggested that they formed a part of the basilica and

[27] *Arch.*, xxix, 152; lx, 177.

[28] The defence of the walls was in the hands of a civil militia; there is no trace of a garrison. Haverfield, op. cit., 165.

forum of the town in its later period, but the remains discovered are too fragmentary to indicate definitely what they were. They show traces, it is said, of four conflagrations, and buildings near by in Leadenhall Street and in Lombard Street gave signs of like catastrophes and of a sufficient interval of time between them for the accumulation of a considerable amount of soil.[29] From this fact it has been thought that at some period of its history all Roman London was destroyed and rebuilt, but there seems to be little evidence of such a disaster elsewhere than on this site.

Outside the walls the land was little occupied, but there was a villa, perhaps, in the Strand where its bath still survives, and another at Holborn, and some buildings at Westminster possibly in relation to the crossing of the Thames there.[30]

The early buildings and other remains in Roman London denote wealth and prosperity. The tessellated pavements far outnumber those discovered in other Romano-British towns, and they and the wall-paintings equalled or surpassed in quality those found elsewhere.[31] The houses, as might be expected, were supplied with hypocausts, baths and other luxuries. Those in the outer parts were pleasantly situated among gardens and orchards and frequently adjoined the numerous streams that intersected the land. The pottery, sculpture, bronzes and other objects of the earlier period all tell of culture and opulence, indeed all the early remains discovered point to a highly Romanised if not Roman population, with little or no Celtic influence.[32] Celtic traditions and associations were continued in towns like Camulodunum and Veru-

[29] *V.C.H. London*, i, 74, 107, 109; *Arch.*, lxvi, 225.
[30] *Ibid.*, 82. [31] Haverfield, op. cit., 158–62.
[32] Haverfield, op. cit. The skulls found in and around London are said to be mostly Roman in type.

lamium for the reason that they owed their early importance to the tribal organizations which the Romans found there and adopted for the purposes of government. These towns existed as administrative centres and as the markets for the corn, wool, hides and other commodities raised in the tribal district dependent upon them. But in the south-east of Britain the tribal organization gradually became weakened after the Roman conquest, and so these towns declined. London, however, so far as we know, had no tribal area attached to it, and the wooded district around could have supported no population, even if there was space for such an area between the land of the Trinobantes on the east and that of the Catuvellauni on the west.

London's importance originated entirely from its position as the centre of traffic of Britain. It was the place of nodality of the province, the knot in the cord, the strands of which stretched into every part of the country. With its wharves lying along the Thames bank eastward of the Walbrook and the Bridge, the remains of which have been found,[33] and possibly with its little harbours or hithes, it formed a port for shipping the wheat, wool, hides, lead and slaves exported from Britain, and for unloading the wine, oil, pottery, cloth and other goods imported from abroad. But it was mainly by its position as the road centre of the province, just as it is to-day the centre of the railway system, that it obtained its chief fame and wealth, for probably the greater part of the traffic with the Continent passed by the shorter sea route through the Kentish ports of Lympne (Portus Lemanus), Dover (Portus Dubris) and Richborough (Portus Ritupis).[34] Roads

[33] *V.C.H. London*, i, 128.

[34] We know, however, that there was a certain amount of direct traffic from the Rhine to Colchester and from Gaul to the north of Britain. Haverfield, op. cit., 114.

from all these ports met at Canterbury (Durovernum) whence the only way inland was by the road that became known as Watling Street, the line of which, as already stated, was ruled by the crossing of the Thames. After London had been founded at the crossing place for Watling Street over the river all the traffic by the Kentish ports, civil, military and commercial, in fact the bulk of the continental traffic, passed through it. At first, it would seem, the roads leading out of London from the north side of the Thames were those to Verulamium and Camulodunum, which probably existed as tracks before the Claudian invasion and were improved, straightened and extended by Roman engineers. Possibly during the latter part of the first century, or early in the second century, Ermine Street to Lincoln and the North and the road to Silchester and the West were laid out, while a little later still the Stane Street from Southwark to Chichester was constructed. By these roads and their extensions and subsidiary roads London was connected with every part of Britain and became the centre of the road system of the country.

The inhabitants of London who depended upon this traffic, like those of to-day, were merchants and financiers who speculated in the products of the country and in imported goods, dealt in Government contracts and lent money,[35] for there were then no industries in London as we understand the term. So far as our evidence shows, London took no part in the important manufacture of cloth which was carried on in South Britain,[36] a trade which is referred to in the Eastern Edict of Diocletian.[37] Remains have been found which suggest per-

[35] Haverfield, op. cit.

[36] This is indicated by the dye works discovered at Silchester and fulling mills at Chedworth in Gloucestershire, Darenth in Kent and Titsey in Surrey. [37] Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain*, 57.

haps the making of glass at St. Clement's Lane and Southwark Street ;[38] but the small bronze objects such as pins and needles discovered at Blackfriars,[39] and jewellery in Lombard Street,[40] probably only represented tradesmen's shops. That the women of London wove and spun cloth for home consumption is testified by weights for looms, spindle whorls and other implements found.[41] Pottery kilns discovered under St. Paul's Cathedral supplied some of the rougher household crockery.[42] The immense quantity of potsherds of the red glazed ware, the earlier with embossed designs of flowers and figures and the later plain, which was known as Gaulish or Samian ware, shows that there was a large importation of this pottery from Central Gaul from the first century to the middle of the third, when its manufacture ceased. Fragments of this ware dating from the second century are still washed up near Whitstable at the mouth of the Thames, where it is evident that a ship bound for London laden with this pottery was wrecked in the second century. Of the British-made pottery, which took the place of the Gaulish in the third century, the largest amount brought to light in London is that of the black Upchurch ware, while a smaller quantity of the blue or grey slip ware made at Castor in Northamptonshire and a comparatively few pieces of the New Forest ware have been found. Many of the mortaria used by the Romans for pounding their food, which have been discovered in London, bear the name of Albinus, a potter traced to Gaul.[43] The number of fragments of amphoræ, or earthen jars with two handles at the neck, suggest a large importation of wine.[44] On the whole there is, as might be

[38] *V.C.H. London*, i, 98. [39] *Ibid.*, 90. [40] *Ibid.*, 109.
[41] *Ibid.*, 104, 121, 126. [42] *Ibid.*, 124. [43] *Ibid.*, 97.
[44] *Ibid.*, 98.

expected, evidence of a considerable trade between London and the Continent in these and other goods.

Of the amusements of the people we know little. Dice and draughtsmen[45] have been found, telling of domestic games, but no remains have been discovered of either a theatre, such as there was at Verulamium (St. Albans), or of an amphitheatre which existed outside most Roman towns, although Roach Smith thinks that the depression bounded by the Old Bailey, Fleet Lane, Seacoal Lane and Snow Hill may indicate its site.[46]

The speech of the people of London was Latin, as apparently it was with all the inhabitants of Southern Britain. Evidence of this is shown by the habit of bricklayers scribbling in Latin on their bricks. On a tile in the city wall at Warwick Lane was scrawled in Latin " Austalis goes off on his own every day for a fortnight,"[47] a custom of workmen not confined to the Romano-British era. We know that Agricola during his governorship of Britain in the second half of the first century encouraged the spread of education among the Britons,[48] and the ability of bricklayers to read and write shows a standard of education in the Roman Empire which was not attained again until a comparatively recent time.[49]

To return to the sequence of historical events relating to London. The peace which came gradually after the revolt of the Iceni and the confederated tribes was not disturbed in Southern Britain by the difficulties which arose elsewhere in the Empire on the death of Nero in A.D. 69. The rebellions, how-

[45] *V.C.H. London*, 93, 99, 114.

[46] *London and Midd. Arch. Trans.*, i, 32, 195.

[47] Austalis dibus viii vagatur sibi cotidim *V.C.H. London*, i, 133. Haverfield, *Roman London*, 168.

[48] Tacitus, *Agricola*, cap. xxi.

[49] Haverfield, op. cit., 168.

ever, in the north of the Island absorbed all the attention of historians for a long time. Tacitus in the life of his father-in-law Agricola, governor here from A.D. 78 to 85, makes no mention of London, though Agricola must have frequently passed through it and probably encouraged its trade. The Emperor Hadrian, with a part of the expeditionary force he brought over to quell the insurrection in Northern Britain in A.D. 120, visited London on his march northward which resulted in the building of the Roman wall from the Tyne to the Solway. It may have been to commemorate this occasion that a colossal bronze statue of the Emperor was erected in London; the splendid head of such a statue found in the Thames at London is now preserved in the British Museum and forms one of the finest pieces of Roman art discovered in the country.[50]

The troubles which beset the Roman Empire at the latter part of the second and the beginning of the third century must have had their reflection on London, but no evidence either written or archæological throws any light on the subject.[51] The usurpation of Albinus (193–7) under which Britain became a detached empire, so far as we know, left no mark upon London. The division of Britain into two parts, Upper and Lower, and the visit of the Emperor Severus to superintend the campaign in Scotland, and his death at York in 211, have in like manner left no trace in the history of London, although we may be pretty sure the Emperor rested there on his journey to the north. There is the same lack of information with regard to the various usurpations which occurred throughout this time.

Hitherto the province of Britain had only been troubled by

[50] *V.C.H. London*, i, 109.

[51] A hoard ending A.D. 161 was found in Jewin Street. *Ibid.*, 133.

internal disturbances, as the coasts had for a long time been effectually guarded from Frankish and Saxon pirates by the Classis Britannica. In the latter part of the third century, however, for some unknown reason these marauders began to infest the shores of Britain and Gaul. Their raids became so troublesome that the fleet had to be increased, and thus strengthened was placed under the command of Marcus Aurelius Carausius, possibly a Celt from North Gaul.[52] At first he carried out his duties with great success, but after a time he was accused of collusion with the pirates, and fearing punishment he persuaded his followers to proclaim him emperor. He landed in Britain in 286,[53] where, his claim being recognised, he commenced a vigorous rule of the province which he was able to maintain owing to his command of the fleet. As " the first sea king of British History " he overcame the new Roman fleets which were sent against him.[54] Diocletian, then emperor, at length in 289, or early in 290, was compelled to acknowledge him as a colleague ruling over Britain[55] and the port of Boulogne (Gessoriacum), the Gaulish base of the fleet.

Carausius was the first, since the Claudian invasion, to establish a separate coinage for Britain, and from this date much of the history of London is obtained from numismatic evidence. The establishment of a mint was necessary to enable him to pay the fleet and carry out the spirited policy he designed for governing Britain, for it must be remembered that he was cut off from the Gaulish mints at Trèves, Lyons and Arles. Mints were established at Camulodunum, the ancient

[52] He came from Menapia in the Low Countries. Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, cap. xxxix.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] Oman, *Engl. before the Norman Conq.*, 165.

[55] Eutropius, *Hist.*, Bk. x.

capital of the south-eastern tribes, and at London now fast superseding it as the chief town of Britain, a position there is reason to think it finally attained at this date. The London mint was the more important of the two, both in the output and value of the coins. Only copper coins of the time of Carausius can be traced to Camulodunum, while those of gold, silver and copper are assigned to London, and these have been found in comparatively large numbers in London itself. His earliest coinage was very roughly struck on old coins of earlier emperors and was obviously made to meet the emergency caused by the revolt. These early coins are in strong contrast to the finely minted specimens which were issued from London after the peace with Diocletian and Maximian that surpassed in purity the debased coinage of the rest of the empire.[56]

Carausius was an energetic and popular ruler, and it was perhaps unfortunate that in 292 Diocletian and Maximian, his fellow-emperors, broke the peace made only a couple of years before by sending an expedition under the command of Constantius Chlorus to subdue Britain. The power of the British fleet, however, rendered the efforts of the Romans abortive. The war had continued for two years when Carausius met the fate of most usurpers and was murdered by Allectus, one of his household. The murderer immediately proclaimed himself emperor, but being a man wanting in personality and popularity, his rule was one of tyranny and disorder.[57] He continued the mints at London and Camulodunum,[58] and there is reason to think that he made London a base for the

[56] Webb, Reign and Coinage of Carausius, *Numismatic Chron.*, Ser. 4, vol. vii, pp. 41–52; De Salis, Roman coins struck in Britain, *Ibid.* Ser. 2, vol. vii, pp. 57, 323.

[57] Aurelius Victor, loc. cit. [58] *Ibid.*

fleet upon which his power depended. In 296 the Romans fitted out two expeditions, the one from Boulogne under Constantius Chlorus and the other from the mouth of the Seine under the prætorian prefect Asclepiodotus. It is evident that the objective of both forces was London. The expedition from the Seine was to engage the British fleet lying off the Isle of Wight, but missing it in a fog the imperial forces effected a landing on the mainland, burnt their boats and marched on London. To intercept the invaders and secure London, Allectus hastened to attack the Roman imperial forces with his marines, possibly near Woolmer Forest. Here, however, he was defeated and fell in the battle, the remnant of his followers, chiefly Franks, fled to London, whither their fleet had apparently gone.

In the meantime the expedition under Constantius Chlorus from Boulogne seems to have landed one division in Kent, while another sailed up the Thames. On arriving at London, Constantius found it in the hands of the unruly Frankish forces of Allectus, who were plundering the citizens and preparing to embark for the Rhine with their booty. The Romans attacked these fugitives and defeated them with great slaughter, and there can be little wonder that the Londoners hailed Constantius as their deliverer.[59] A Roman boat with which were associated coins of Carausius and Allectus, found under the New County Hall on the south side of Westminster Bridge, may be a relic of this fight. It had obviously been sunk in a fight as the damage to it shows.[60]

Britain was thus once more a part of the Roman Empire. In order to prevent these repeated usurpations Diocletian,

[59] Eumenius, *Constantius Chlorus*, caps. xvi, xvii, xviii.
[60] Gomme, *The Making of London*, 62.

about 296, reorganised the local governments of the Empire. He divided his dominions into four parts, of which he took the principal, with his seat of government at Rome, the other three being ruled by his colleagues or junior emperors. Gaul and Spain, in which division Britain was included, went to Constantius Chlorus, whose chief seat of government was at Trèves. Britain itself was subdivided into four districts,[61] namely Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Maxima Cæsariensis and Flavia Cæsariensis. In each district the civil authority was separated from the military, the former being exercised by a president who was answerable to a governor-general. The president of one of these districts, probably, as Prof. Haverfield thinks, Flavia Cæsariensis,[62] had his residence at London,[63] and it would seem probable that London was also the head-quarters of the governor-general, as here we know was the office of a treasury official, and here was the most likely place for the residence of other provincial officers.[64] The mint at Camulodunum was closed after the death of Allectus, but the London mint was continued for bronze coins by Diocletian and his colleagues. The London mint, however, was closed by the Emperor Constantine with the mints of several other cities of the Empire in 326.[65]

The good rule of Constantius and the succeeding emperors

[61] Britain had already been divided by Severus (193–211) into Superior and Inferior.

[62] Prof. Haverfield suggests that Prima was in the S.W. of Britain, Secunda in the S.E., Flavia Cæsariensis N. of the Thames, Maxima N. of Flavia, probably N. of the Humber. *Arch. Oxon*, 224–6.

[63] Tiles have been found at Blomfield St., Cannon St., London Wall, Lothbury, the General Post Office and Wood St. bearing "P.P. BR.LON." for Publicani provinciæ Britanniæ Londinienses." *V.C.H. London*, i, 90, 96, 111, 113, 122, 134; *Corpus Inscr.*, vii, 1235.

[64] *Notitia Dignitatum* (Böcking Ed.), p. 48.

[65] *Numismatic Chron.*, Ser. 4, vol. xv, p. 478.

of the West gave peace and prosperity to Britain for the next half century. This peace apparently brought wealth to London, judging from the numerous coins of this period that have been discovered there. Constantius and his more famous son Constantine the Great paid many visits to Britain and must have frequently passed through London.

One of the results of this period of peace was the spread of Christianity. Londoners had hitherto followed the religion of Rome. They worshipped Diana,[66] as is shown by the altar bearing her figure found in Foster Lane, and also in all probability Jupiter, Apollo, Mercury, Venus and other Roman gods, judging from the statuettes found in different parts of the city.[67] Sculptures of Mithras, whose cult was followed by the Roman army, have been discovered in London[68] and testify to the exercise of Roman religious rites, while those of the "Deæ Matres" indicate the introduction of a Celtic cult which spread over Europe during the second century.[69] Christianity was introduced apparently at the end of the third century but made little progress until the early part of the fourth century, and from that time probably to the end of the Roman rule Christian and Pagan worship continued side by side. By 314 the new religion had become so well established that we have reference to Restitutus, Bishop of London, who with Bishop Eborius of York and Adelphius, perhaps of Lincoln, attended the Council of Arles in that year.[70] The presence of a bishop in London would imply the existence of one or possibly more churches, for so far as we have any evidence on the point the Romano-British churches were

[66] *V.C.H. London*, i, 102–3.
[67] *Ibid.*, 110, 112–114, 116, 127. [68] *Ibid.*, 110, 131–2.
[69] *Ibid.*, 93, 104, 135; *Arch. Æliana*, xv (1892, 314); *Arch.*, lxix, 183, 209. [70] Haddon and Stubbs, *Councils*, i, 7.

quite small. A bishopric continued probably until the departure of the Roman legions in 410, and perhaps later, for there is mention in the so-called martyrology of St. Jerome of Angulus, Bishop of Augusta, the name which London at one time bore.[71] The spread of Christianity is testified by fourth-century burials immediately around London which show the adoption of the faith by some of the higher officials of the city.[72] Many objects also of this date bearing Christian emblems[73] point to the increase of the Church. The virility and perhaps aggressiveness of the Christians are suggested by some statuettes of Jupiter, Apollo, Mercury and Ganymede found in the bed of the Thames[74] which show signs of intentional damage caused, it is thought, by early Christians whose abhorrence of idols made them deliberately break the figures and throw them into the river.

This peaceful epoch was broken about the middle of the fourth century by usurpations and by raids of the northern barbarians.[75] In 360 the incursions of the Picts and Scots became so serious that assistance had to be despatched from the central government. Lupicinus was sent from Gaul with reinforcements, and, landing at Richborough in the winter of that year, marched at once to London, apparently to consult with the local officials on a plan of campaign.[76] The expedition had little permanent effect and the raids continued. The Picts and Scots were shortly afterwards joined by the

[71] The martyrology was compiled from fifth-century material, *see* Oman, *England before the Conquest*, 178.

[72] *V.C.H. London*, i, 12 *et seq.*

[73] *Ibid.*, 25; Lethaby, *London before the Conquest*, 27–8.

[74] *V.C.H. London*, i, 110.

[75] A hoard found in Throgmorton Avenue ending in Constantius II (337–40) may be the result of this disturbed period. *Ibid.*, 112.

[76] Ammianus Marcellinus, Bk. xxvi, cap. i.

Saxons and Attacotti, another northern people.[77] The Emperor Valentinian sent one general after another who could make no progress with the situation until the province was handed over in 368 to Theodosius, a Spaniard, father of the emperor of the same name. Landing in Kent with a large body of troops he cleared the country of the bands of robbers that infested it. He then, with all the pomp of his race, made a triumphal entry into London,[78] which had been brought to dire extremities by the barbarians. The event was one of great rejoicing, and it is supposed, with considerable probability, that the occasion was marked by giving to London the additional name of Augusta,[79] and with this title it probably gained a new dignity if not a fresh legal status.[80] It is clear that London was called by its old name in 360, and some eight years later it was described as "Augusta which was formerly known as London." Sir Arthur Evans has made some interesting numismatic discoveries on the subject, and almost conclusively proves that the London mint was re-opened in 368 and coins struck to commemorate the Quinquennalia or quinquennial renewal of the vow to Rome of the Emperor Valentinian.[81]. These coins bore the mint mark of "London Augusta." Again the mint was opened in 373[82] to commemorate the "Decennalia vota" of Valens, and the coins then struck bore on the inscription the name Augusta alone, which name of Augusta remained in use probably until the withdrawal of the Roman authority in 410. Possibly

[77] Ammianus Marcellinus, Bk. xxvi, cap. iv.

[78] *Ibid.*, Bk. xxviii, cap. iii, viii. *Numismatic Chron.*, Ser. 4, vol. xv, p. 481.

[79] *Ibid.*

[80] Haverfield, *Roman London*, 152.

[81] *Numismatic Chron.*, Ser. 4, vol. xv, p. 482–5.

[82] *Ibid.*, 486.

the mint was at work throughout this period, but even if it were not, it probably carried out its duties of assaying and weighing silver ingots from the Mendip mines, of which there was a large exportation to continental mints.[83]

The reopening of the London mint became essential to the administration of the country during the usurpation of Magnus Maximus which began in 383, as for a short time he ruled in Britain alone and was cut off from the supply of coins from the Continent. The mint remained open throughout his reign, which ended by his death in 388, and during the latter part of the rule of Theodosius (*ob.*, 395), the coins struck at this time bearing the mint mark P. Aug(usta).[84]

Before the severance of Britain from the Roman Empire there were many signs of a weakening of the bond between it and Rome. After the death of Theodosius anarchy prevailed throughout the land and Britain fell a prey to one usurper after another. Stilicho, the general in whom Theodosius had placed his trust, did what he could to reorganise the defences of the country at the beginning of the reign of the youthful Honorius, but in 402–3 one of the two Roman legions stationed in Britain, no doubt with its auxiliaries, was withdrawn to defend Italy from the Visigoths. In 407, Constantius, a Briton, usurped the rule and, like other usurpers here, seems to have reopened the London mint. Had he been content to restrict his rule to Britain he might have had some success, but in attempting to extend his dominions to Gaul he probably took with him the remaining legion and other troops, leaving Britain defenceless from attacks of raiders on all sides. This state of affairs encouraged other usurpers and a bronze coin found at Richborough bears

[83] *Ibid.*, 488. [84] *Ibid.*, 487–8.

the stamp of a second Carausius, probably a Briton, who appears about 409.[85] It is probable that this coin was struck at London where, so far as we know, there was the only mint at that time in Britain. If so, London, the possession of which was sought by all usurpers, must have been in his hands.

Until the final withdrawal of the Romans in 410 London remained the chief town and centre of administration for all Britain. Here the official of the treasury of the Empire, the "praepositus thesaurorum Augustensium in Britannis" had his residence.[86] A silver ingot associated with coins of Arcadius (383–408) and Honorius (395–423)[87] found at the Tower and a similar half ingot discovered at Bentley Priory near Stanmore, Middlesex, of about 408–11, show that this official was still performing his duties up to 410, when Honorius abandoned the Britons and bade them defend themselves. Some of the Roman officials then left, among them no doubt the officers of the treasury in London.

For some years after this event, which closes the period of Roman rule, an impenetrable darkness hangs over the history of London.

[85] Sir Arthur Evans, *Numismatic Chron.*, Ser. 4, vol. xv, 504–8

[86] *Ibid.*, 508–19.

[87] *V.C.H. London*, i, 130; *Corpus Inscript. Cat.*, vii, 1196; *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, ix, p. 640.

CHAPTER II

SAXON LONDON

THE veil which obscures the history of London for nearly two centuries after the withdrawal of the Roman legions, is only once partially raised; but all forms of government cannot have ceased immediately after Honorius in 410 bade the Britons defend themselves. His message must have been delivered to an official, either Roman or British, who would pass it on to local and municipal authorities. That official probably had his residence in London, which for some time had been the chief seat of the Imperial Government for the whole province of Britain. The decay of London was, we may imagine, gradual, and had begun before the recall of the Roman legions. The process of devolution, the usual prelude to an empire's downfall, had already commenced in the Roman Empire, and had developed in Britain into a form of disintegration more in keeping with Celtic traditions. Small kingdoms probably arose in the south as we know they did in the north, and London and other walled towns being no longer maintained as administrative centres became merely cities of refuge. Such was the case apparently when in 457 the Britons of Kent fled to London after their defeat by Hengist and his son Ochta at the battle of Crayford.[1] From this isolated fact, which alone emerges for a period of

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* Sub anno.

some two hundred years of complete obscurity, we may perhaps assume that London was not yet deserted; that it was still in the hands of the Britons, and that the bridge whereby the British refugees could only have had a direct route to it, had been maintained. The London of that date, however, must have been a mere shadow of what it had been fifty years before. Britain being cut off from intercourse with the Continent, London would lose the foreign trade upon which its prosperity so largely depended. The Roman merchant, no longer able to carry on his overseas trade, forsook Britain for more profitable fields for his energy, and the few Romanised inhabitants that remained in London continued a precarious existence on such chance home trade as might happen to come their way.

We can only conjecture how long the Britons kept possession of London, for all written evidence fails us at this period. The archæological remains which have survived are extremely scanty. A bronze enamelled plaque in the form of an altar, of semi-classical style, which was found in the Thames, may belong to the time of the departure of the Romans or shortly afterwards; a bronze buckle of Gallo-Roman type found at West Smithfield, may be assigned to a little later date, and a bronze cruciform brooch said to be of Wessex type, found in Tower Street, can be referred to the fifth or early sixth century.[2] These objects throw little or no light on the history of London. We have no numismatic evidence, nor have we any record of the discovery in the London district of those richly furnished graves of the pagan Saxon period which are so numerous around Canterbury and elsewhere. The inference to be drawn is that during the latter part of

[2] *V.C.H. London*, i, 127, 148, 149.

the fifth and early sixth centuries, London was deserted, except perhaps for a few fugitive Britons hiding amongst its ruins. The theory that there was a period during which London lay waste is further supported by the facts that the medieval streets seem to have been laid out irrespective of their Roman predecessors,[3] and that the culverts by which the Walbrook passed through the city walls were allowed at some time to become so choked that a great marsh or moor was formed, which could scarcely have happened had there been continuity of habitation. Besides this it would seem unlikely that the Saxons, who were at this time swarming over the districts later known as the counties of Kent, Essex and Hertford would have permitted a walled city like London, standing in their midst, to remain in the hands of an enemy. We are driven to the conclusion either that London was voluntarily deserted and lay desolate, or that it had been taken by the Teutonic invaders and left waste. The lack of evidence points rather to the former solution, for the fall of a place having the history and position of London, would hardly fail to find a record in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle or some other history, had it occurred.

There can have been no room in the wild and stormy times of the late fifth century for a trading community such as London had nurtured, and the probability is that the city remained desolate until it re-arose as the capital of the newly erected kingdom of the East Saxons about 527, when Aescwin assumed the kingship.[4] For a long time after this date its population must have been quite insignificant, as

[3] More discoveries of foundations of Roman buildings have been made in the roadways of London than in other parts, showing that London was laid out afresh irrespective of the lines of Roman streets. *V.C.H. London*, i, 80.

[4] Oman, *Engl. before the Norm. Conq.*, 222.

throughout the account of the fighting between the West Saxons and the men of Kent to the west and north of the city, and even when Ethelbert of Kent was in 568 defeated as near as Wimbledon, no mention of it is made. From this we must infer that the military importance of London was then considered negligible.

This was the position of London at the time that St. Augustine landed in Britain in 597, when Saebert, possibly the grandson of Aescwin,[5] was king of the East Saxons and probably had his residence in the city. By this time London may have regained something of its importance, for we learn that Pope Gregory had intended it, and not Canterbury, for the archiepiscopal See of Southern Britain. In a letter dated 22 June, 601, to St. Augustine, outlining the organisation of the new church of the English, Gregory directed that there should be two metropolitan Sees, one at London and the other at York, and assumed that Augustine had been consecrated to the former.[6] It must be remembered, however, that the seats of early bishoprics were placed beside the king's residences, and when St. Augustine arrived in Britain he found Ethelbert, King of Kent, residing at Canterbury, the capital of his kingdom, and Saebert, King of the East Saxons, with London as his chief town, ruling over a kingdom subordinate to Ethelbert. Augustine therefore had no alternative but to establish his archiepiscopal See at the capital of the Kentish king then the superior lord.

London, however, did not remain long without a bishop. In 604 Augustine and Ethelbert sent Mellitus to preach the

[5] Oman, *Eng. before the Norm Conq.*, 222.

[6] Bede, *Eccles. Hist*, Bk. i, cap. xxix. The fame of Londinium probably survived at Rome while Durovernum (Canterbury) was unknown. See note in Plummer's edition of *Bede*, vol. ii, p. 52.

Gospel to Saebert, son of Ethelbert's sister Ricola, whom he had made King of the East Saxons,[7], and in London, it is said, the Kentish king built the church of St. Paul as the cathedral for the first Saxon bishop of the See and his successors. Near by was the royal residence, which by tradition was also built by him.[8] Christianity was perhaps little more than the religion of the court, for on the death of Ethelbert in 616 and shortly afterwards of Saebert, the men of Kent and the East Saxons relapsed into paganism, and Mellitus fled to France. Kent returned to Christianity when Eadbald, son of Ethelbert was converted by Laurentius, successor of Augustine;[9] but the East Saxons remained pagan until they were converted in 633 by a holy man called Fursey, from Ireland, and Cedd became their bishop.[10] It is probable that London formed a part of that portion of the East Saxon kingdom under the rule of Sebbi, which did not return to the worship of idols, when, in fear of the plague which swept the land in 664, the eastern part of the kingdom under Sighere again became pagan.[11] Cedd himself fell a victim to the plague and was succeeded by Wine, who purchased the See of London from Wulfhere, King of Mercia, to whom Essex, with London, had now become subject. On the death of Wine, about 675, Archbishop Theodore appointed Earconwald as "bishop of the East Saxons in the city of London," and he ruled the bishopric until his death in 693. Very little is known of this saintly bishop, but there are many traditions of his holy life. The influence of his name lived in London to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in a hymn

[7] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* Anno 604.
[8] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 44a.
[9] *Ibid.*, 616.
[10] Bede, *Ecclesiastical Hist.*, Bk. iii, cap. xix.
[11] *Ibid.*, cap. xxx.

addressed to him, he is described as the "Light of London." [12]

Throughout the seventh century we have few historical references to London other than those relating to its bishops. The kingdom of the East Saxons remained subject and unimportant. The superior lordship passed from Kent to Wessex, then to Northumbria (about 653) and Mercia (about 664), then to Wessex again (at the end of the seventh century) and once more early in the eighth century to Mercia.[13] London, the capital of the East Saxon kingdom, grew but slowly, for commerce, the essence of its prosperity, did not advance much with the early Saxon settlers, who were not traders; besides which, the peace necessary for the development of trade, was wanting throughout the land. The establishment of a mint in London during the early part of the seventh century is, however, a sign of commencing importance,[14] and it is evident from the Laws of Hlothaere and Eadric[15] (*c.* 680–5) that London was a centre of trade to which the men of Kent resorted. Bede, writing about 731, described it as a market of many nations who came by sea and land,[16] and the importance of its oversea trade is further shown by the privileges conferred by royal charters for the entry of ships into the port, free of dues. Thus in 734 the Bishop of Rochester was given the right to send a ship into the port,[17] and about 744 the Bishop of Worcester was forgiven the dues on two ships sent into "Lundentunes Hythe."[18] Again

[12] *V.C.H. London*, i, 172–3.

[13] C. Oman, *Engl. before the Norman Conq.*, 284, 286, 287, 327, 330.

[14] *A catalogue of Engl. coins in Brit. Mus.* (Keary and Poole), vol. i, p. xiv–vi.

[15] Thorpe, *Anct. Laws* (Rec. Com.), 11.

[16] Bede, op. cit., Bk. ii, cap. iii.

[17] Kemble, *Cod. Diplom.*, No. 78.

[18] *Ibid.*, No. 95.

in 747 the abbess of Thanet received a charter which was confirmed in 761, giving her the right to send two ships freely into the port of London.[19]

After the battle of Burford in 752 the overlordship of the East Saxon kingdom passed to Wessex only to be once more attached to Mercia by 773. Offa, then king of Mercia, and Coenwulf who succeeded on the death of Egfrith in 796, apparently made London their chief residence and the capital of their kingdom. There are records of gemotes held here in 790 and 811, at the latter of which it is described as a most renowned place and a royal town, by which description a residence of the Mercian kings may be implied.[20] The cordial relations between Offa and Charlemagne encouraged a great intercourse between England and France, and the trade it brought for the most part probably passed through London. Although the East Saxons still had their sub-king Sigred who attended the Mercian gemote, lands in London were disposed of by Coenwulf of Mercia.[21] Sigred was the last sub-king of the East Saxons, and with the Battle of Ellandune in 825, which brought about the fall of Mercia and established Egbert of Wessex as King of all England, the history of London enters upon a new phase.

It was well that the country at this time was brought under one rule, for that great struggle against an external foe which continued for nearly two centuries was already beginning. The Danes commenced their plundering raids in 834, and London was too tempting a morsel to be left untouched. In 839 we find they visited London, Canterbury and Rochester, and

[19] *Ibid.*, No. 97 and 106.
[20] Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, 159, 197, 220.
[21] Thorpe, *Dipl. Angl. ævi Sax.*, pp. 57, 73 and 74.

fought there with great slaughter.[22] It is probable that this was only a plundering expedition, but unfortunately no details survive. In 851 Rorik the Dane with 350 ships raided Canterbury. He then came up the Thames and attacked London, which was held by Beorhtwulf of Mercia, and eventually captured it, putting Beorhtwulf's army to flight.[23] The Danes made the city for a time a base for further raids to the north of it and into Surrey. Their defeat at " Aclea "[24] later in the same year probably caused the Viking host to retire overseas with their ships, for if any reliance can be placed on a charter of Burhred sub-king of Mercia, of doubtful authenticity, London was apparently in his hands in 857.[25] It probably fell to the Vikings again in the spring of 871, when the Danish army under King Halfdene marched from East Anglia to attack the West Saxons. We know that the Danes took up their winter quarters here in that year, when the Mercians made peace with them and Alfred paid them tribute. King Egbert had established a mint in London which Halfdene maintained and in 872 issued the first of that series of coins bearing the well-known monogram of London. The Danes probably held London until 873, when Burhred apparently bribed them to vacate it and they went to Northumbria.[26] It was not long before it was again in the hands of the Northmen for, as the road-centre of the country and commanding the lines of communication on all sides of it, Guthrum with his base in East Anglia could not have ignored it in his ex-

[22] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and *Flor. of Worc.*, 839; C. Oman, *Engl. before the Norman Conquest*, 421.

[23] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*; *Flor. of Worc.*, 851.

[24] Possibly Oakley in Hants; another suggested site is Ockley in Surrey near Dorking.

[25] Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, No. 280.

[26] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and *Flor. of Worc.*

pedition to Wessex. The defeat of the Danes, however, at Ethandune in 878 and the conversion of Guthrum to Christianity brought peace for a short time to Southern Britain, and in the following year Guthrum went so far as to persuade a Viking host which had sailed up the Thames and encamped at Fulham to retire to the Continent.[27] Another host landing at Rochester in 885 received a severe handling before it retired overseas, and some naval engagements on the East Coast showed that it was only with Guthrum that peace could be relied upon.[28]

In 883 Alfred besieged and took London,[29] which after half a century of Danish raids and intermittent occupation had fallen into a deplorably ruinous condition. That it had been the scene of much fighting is evidenced by the numerous Viking swords and other weapons of the ninth and tenth centuries found in the city and in the Thames.[30] The fairly numerous objects of domestic use, such as personal ornaments, combs and draughtsmen, of the Viking period, found in London, also show that it had a considerable Danish population at this time, some of whom from the form and position of their tombstones were apparently Christians. The insecurity of property during this disturbed period must have driven away both native and foreign traders who frequented the markets of London. No doubt many of the houses, unsubstantial structures as they were, had fallen into ruin and the inhabited part of the city shrank to the area at the bridgehead.

After the long strain and anxieties of war the country could not go back to its old conditions. All the movements which had been gradually growing were suddenly brought to a head

[27] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 879.
[28] *Ibid.*, 885.
[29] *Ibid.*, 883.
[30] *V.C.H. London*, i, 147–70.

and a new England was arising very different from that which had preceded it. The separate petty kingdoms and family independences of the earlier Teutonic settlers were unsuited to the maintenance of a force strong enough to repel invasion. Unity of command and consolidation of the landed interest had become essential for the protection and prosperity of the country, and a new middle class was being absorbed into the thegnhood. The fatal Celtic characteristic of disintegration which followed the crisis consequent on the Roman withdrawal, was avoided under the capable administration of Alfred, whose tact and wisdom enabled him to carry out the reforms which his policy of consolidation necessitated.

Since the death of Sigred, the last sub-king of the East Saxons, London had nominally been considered a part of Mercia, but Alfred, foreseeing its importance as the commercial metropolis of England, determined to detach it from any sub-kingdom. With his usual tact he appointed about 886 a governor of the city and gave the post to Ethelred, chief ealdorman of the Mercians, whom he had married to his daughter Ethelfleda.[31] Thus while maintaining a connexion with Mercia he broke the dependence of London upon that earldom. He endowed the new governor and his wife with a district in London bordering upon the Thames from the Walbrook on the east to the lands of St. Paul's on the west, where Ethelred built the important harbour which as Ethelred's-hithe and later as Queenhithe gave its name to the district.[32]

When Alfred turned his attention to the condition of London in 886 it is said that he fortified it and rebuilt it in a splendid

[31] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 886; Will. Malms. *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Ser.), i, 128.
[32] See p. 130–2.

manner and made it fit for habitation.[33] The process of rebuilding was probably gradual, for we find that the question of restoration was still a pressing matter in 898, when a council was held by the King at Chelsea to discuss it. Besides the King there were present at this meeting Ethelred and his wife, Plegmund Archbishop of Canterbury and Werefrid Bishop of Worcester. The chief matter discussed seems to have been the development of the shipping trade of London and the desirability for further accommodation for vessels coming into the port. Probably Ethelred's-hithe was built in consequence of this council. A little to the west of it pieces of land were granted to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Worcester with special privileges for the erection of quays for the mooring of ships. Paul's Wharf had been no doubt constructed at an early date for the unloading of building material and stores for the community at St. Paul's, and we know that wharves on both sides of the bridge and on the banks of the Walbrook had existed from the Roman occupation. Eastward the hithe, similar to Queenhithe at Billingsgate, may be of this time, for the tradition of its early existence has no surer foundation than the very uncertain derivation of its name. It is probable also that the grant of "Weremansacre," now represented by Tower Ward, supposed to have been made to Alfred's other daughter Ælfthryth, had for its object the extension of trade with Flanders and the building of quays along the river front. Whether the law that the merchant who had fared three times over the high seas at his own expense was to be considered thegn-right worthy,[34] which would probably affect London more than any other port, can be carried back to Alfred's day

[33] *Flor. of Worc.*, 886; *Roger de Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), i, 48; *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 886.

[34] Thorpe, *Anct. Laws and Instit.*

is uncertain. Such an encouragement to trade is quite typical of the time when shipping was so urgently needed.

Thus London became the principal shipping centre of the country and had superseded Dover, Sandwich and the other south-eastern ports for continental traffic on account of its greater facilities for distribution. Alfred's policy for the encouragement of overseas trade necessitated the reorganization and augmentation of his fleets, which were probably used both for military and mercantile purposes. A number of ships of a new type, carrying sixty oars or more and so larger and swifter than the Danish ships, was added to the naval force of the country.[35] These new vessels for a time rendered the sea safe for trade and the coasts free from raids. Peace and security of property, so essential to trade, were established at London by strengthening its fortifications and perfecting its military establishment. These together made it an impregnable city which never again yielded to a siege. It is thought that to the rebuilding and repair of the walls at this time, Cripplegate owes its origin.[36]

The organization and training of the citizens of London for military purposes under Ethelred its governor enabled it to perform gallant service in the campaigns against the Danes in 894 and 896. At the time of the former of these expeditions the king had to hurry westward to relieve Exeter, but left a small force to deal with the Danes encamped at Benfleet in Essex. This force being too weak to encounter the Danes retired to London, where, being joined by a large body of the citizens, it completely routed the enemy, destroyed their fortifications and brought back in triumph to London much booty and many captives, including the wife and two sons of Hasting,

[35] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 897. [36] Loftie, *Hist. of London*, i, 65.

the Danish chieftain; these important captives, however, were soon released, the two boys being the godsons of Alfred and Ethelred.[37] The Danish ships which could not be brought up the Thames to London or up the Medway to Rochester were destroyed.

No doubt London troops were with Ethelred when the Danes were again in the same year beaten in the West of England. After an expedition into Cheshire and North Wales the Danes once more wintered in Essex, towing their ships up the Thames and Lea to a point some twenty miles north of London, probably near Ware, where they enclosed them in a fortification. In the summer of 896 the citizens of London with others made an attack upon the Danish encampment but were driven back; four of the king's thegns, probably burhthegns of London, being killed in the action.[38] Fearing the Danes might follow up their victory by cutting off supplies for London, Alfred brought up his army and encamped outside the walls that the people might harvest the crops of corn, vegetables and other food raised on the lands dependent upon the city. The harvest having been gathered, reconnoitring parties, or as Florence of Worcester tells us the King himself, observed a place where the water of the Lea could be diverted so as to leave the Danish ships stranded. This ingenious enterprise was successfully carried out, and the Danes were compelled to flee westward to the Severn, pursued by the English. In the meantime the citizens brought all the Danish ships that could be moved as prizes to London and destroyed the remainder.

Alfred died in 899.[39] The wealth of London and the art of

[37] *Flor. of Worc.*, 894. [38] *Ibid.*, 895–6.
[39] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xiii, 71–77.

his day is illustrated by a fine circular enamelled brooch used for fastening, on the right shoulder, the mantle then in fashion, which was found at Dowgate Hill and is now in the British Museum. In the middle of the brooch is the representation of the crowned head and bust of a king, probably intended for Alfred, which is surrounded by an openwork gold border. It is perhaps the work of one of the foreign artists employed by Alfred who was possibly maintained at his royal residence in London. Other similar brooches, but of less finished workmanship, have also been found in London.[40]

On the death of Ethelred in 912 King Edward the Elder took London and Oxford into his hands,[41] so that the subordination of London to Mercia disappears. Henceforth London became directly attached to the crown of England and the rival of Winchester for the position of the capital of the kingdom and the principal place for holding gemotes.[42] It grew in power and importance, but was doubtless affected by the Danish raids which again menaced the land at the end of the tenth century. A brief entry in the Chronicle states that London was burnt in 982, whether by the enemy or by a chance fire there is nothing to indicate. Ten years later the English fleet, composed of the strongest ships from every port of England, then assembled at London, was baulked of its prey by the treachery of Ælfric, ealdorman of Wessex, who commanded the English forces.[43] He traitorously joined the enemy with all his men; but a little later the English again engaged the Danes, defeated them and took Ælfric's ship, from which he himself barely escaped. Freeman con-

[40] *V.C.H. London*, i, 158–60.

[41] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 912.

[42] See list of gemotes held in London. Kemble, *Saxons in Engl.*, ii, 241 *et seq.*

[43] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and *Flor. of Worc.*, 992.

sidered that Ælfric's purpose was to betray London to the enemy.[44]

It was during the next quarter of a century, however, that London was to receive the supreme test of its strength and stubbornness. On the feast of the Nativity of St. Mary, 994, Olaf Tryggveson of Norway and Sweyn of Denmark, in their campaign for the conquest of England, came up the Thames with ninety-four ships to lay siege to London and to attempt its destruction by fire. The citizens with great valour drove the enemy back, "the Holy Mother of God on that day in her mercy helped the citizens and rid them of their enemies." Olaf and Sweyn had to sail away "in wrath and sorrow."[45] Thus London saved itself; and had a stronger hand than that of Ethelred held the power, this victory might have saved England also. After doing great damage in the southern counties, Olaf met King Ethelred at Andover, where he was converted to Christianity and baptised.[46] After receiving a tribute of £16,000 he vowed that he with his Norwegians would not attack England again. London was left unmolested for some fifteen years, although the Northmen continued to plunder other parts of the southern counties.

In 1008 a systematic endeavour was made to build up a navy sufficiently strong to repel the raiders, and a law was passed that every district of 310 hides of land was to provide a galley. The new fleet was ready in the following year, and never before, the chronicler states, were there so many ships in England.[47] No sooner had this great fleet been assembled at Sandwich than twenty of the ships were enticed away by

[44] Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, i, 346–7.
[45] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and *Flor. of Worc.*
[46] Will. Malms., *Gesta Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 187–8.
[47] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 1008–9; *Flor. of Worc.*, 1008.

Wulnoth, father of Earl Godwin and nephew of the traitor Earl Edric of Mercia, who by means of them began to plunder the south coast. The remaining eighty ships put out in pursuit, but being driven ashore in a gale, many of them were destroyed by Wulnoth, and the remainder, it is said, were rowed back to London, implying that they had originally started from that city as their naval base. "Thus lightly did they suffer the labour of all the people to be in vain, nor was the terror lessened as all England hoped."[48]

This disaster to the English navy was at once taken advantage of by the Norse Earl Thurkill, who landed an army in the same year at Sandwich, where he was joined by a Danish fleet and marched on Canterbury. Here was renewed the fatal policy of buying off the enemy and so Canterbury was spared. The army then went into Sussex, Hampshire and Berkshire. It eventually took up its winter quarters on the lower banks of the Thames in Essex and Kent, whence "it oft fought against" the city of London; "but glory be to God that it yet standeth firm," for the Northmen ever met with "ill fare" there.[49] In the campaign of 1010, although Thurkill harried the country all around, he avoided London itself. It is evident that an attack on London from both the north and south sides was intended in the early part of the year; but hearing of the preparations made against them by the citizens the Danes returned to their ships.

The country was falling to pieces for want of a strong ruler. It required another Alfred to carry it through its difficulties. During the terrible years of 1010 and 1011 all southern England, including the home counties, had been plundered and

[48] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 1008.
[49] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* and *Flor. of Worc.*, 1009.

harried by Thurkill. London, an island in the midst of this desolation, alone had retained any military organization, and for this reason and on account of the strength of its walls it was saved the miseries wrought by the Danish raiders and again became a refuge for those driven from their homes outside. In despair the people once more resorted to the expedient of buying off their enemies. The Easter gemote of 1012 met in London and ealdorman Edric, the evil genius of the period, and all the oldest councillors of England, clergy and laity, made arrangements for the payment of £48,000 as a tribute to the enemy.[50] Ethelred, who spent a great part of his reign in London, does not seem to have been present at the gemote; at all events he is not mentioned in the Chronicle amongst those who were assembled there. It was at this time that the Northmen who held Alphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, a prisoner, brutally murdered him in a drunken orgy at their husting at Greenwich, but they allowed his body to be brought for burial with great honour to St. Paul's.

Although after the payment of the tribute to Thurkill the Norwegians became the allies of the English, the land had no peace. In August, 1013, Sweyn of Denmark and his son Cnut landed with an army at Sandwich, and later took up his headquarters in East Anglia. Sweyn then marched by Oxford to Winchester, which he captured, and afterwards made his way towards London. It would seem that his army attacked the city from the south, as it is said that the Danes lost many who were drowned in the Thames "because they kept not to any bridge."[51] King Ethelred was at the time in London, and Thurkill with his Norwegians, who was there also, helped

[50] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, 1012.
[51] Will. Malms., *Gesta Reg.*, i, 208.

in the gallant defence against the Danes, who were successfully driven off. The country was now quite exhausted from the constant harrying, and after further defeats in Wessex "all the people held Sweyn for full king." The Londoners, finding themselves isolated and being deserted by Ethelred and Thurkill, who had retired to the ships at Greenwich, and by their bishop Elthun, who had been sent by Queen Emma with the two ethelings, Edward and Alfred, to her brother in Normandy, made submission. They feared lest Sweyn should "utterly undo them," or, as Florence of Worcester puts it, should deprive them of their property and either cause their eyes to be put out or their hands or feet to be amputated.[52]

Sweyn did not long survive his triumph and died at Gainsborough in February, 1014. The fleet elected his son Cnut as the new king, but the Witan would not acknowledge him, and invited Ethelred, who had fled to Normandy, to return. On his arrival Ethelred was well received in London and immediately marched to Gainsborough against Cnut, where he compelled the Danes to retire with their ships to Denmark.[53] The great opportunity of re-establishing a strong and prosperous England was again lost by incompetence, treachery and internal disorders. The King, weak and undecided, lay ill; his eldest son Edmund was in open opposition to him, and his favourite minister Edric Streona, earldorman of Mercia, was in treacherous communication with the enemy. Cnut in 1015 landed at Sandwich and after being joined by the traitor Edric subdued all Wessex. In the following year Edmund the Etheling raised an army which "could avail him

[52] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and *Flor. of Worc.*, 1013.
[53] Freeman, *Norm. conq.*, i, 405.

nothing unless the King were there and they had the assistance of the citizens of London." As this assistance was not available "each man betook himself home."[54] Ethelred seems to have been in London all this time, and on a further levy of an army by Edmund, the King collected forces in the city and joined the Etheling with them. Again the army refused to fight, and Ethelred fearing treachery sought safety again in London.[55] Afterwards the fighting was moved to the midlands and north, but little progress was made. Edmund, probably hearing of the state of his father's health and of Cnut's designs on London, hastened there and arrived only a short time before his father's death. After the burial of Ethelred at St. Paul's the magnates of the kingdom chose Cnut for their king, but the citizens of London, who formed a centre for loyalty and patriotism, elected Edmund Ironside.[56] The new king, whose kingdom scarcely extended beyond the walls of his chief town, at once set about putting the city in a state of defence. He assembled there all the troops that he could collect in order to be prepared for the attack he knew was coming.

Cnut arrived at Greenwich with all his ships early in May and reached London shortly afterwards. Here the bridge, which was no doubt strongly fortified, formed a barrier to his progress, and to avoid it he cut a deep trench on the south side of the river through which he dragged his ships to the western side of the bridge, where they rejoined the Thames. Cnut is said also to have dug a trench round the city to prevent anyone from entering or leaving it. But the efforts of the Danes were of no avail, for the strength of their city walls and the excellence of their military training enabled the Londoners to re-

[54] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, 1016. [55] *Ibid.* [56] *Ibid.*

pulse assault after assault and eventually to drive the enemy so far back that the siege had to be abandoned. So confident was Edmund of the strength of the city that, evading the vigilance of the Danes, he went out to collect an army to attack them in Wessex, and after defeating them there he marched north of the Thames into Essex and relieved London from the east side, driving the enemy back to their ships. Another army, however, menaced London from the west which Edmund engaged and defeated at Brentford. Again relying on the strength of London, he left it to collect a fresh army in Wessex. The Danes, taking advantage of his absence, immediately returned and assaulted the city both by land and water. Once more they were repulsed by the valour of the citizens, and were so badly beaten that they were compelled to retire with their ships to the Orwell.[57]

Edmund's successes were, however, only short-lived. His defeat at Ashingdon (Assandun) in Essex in the autumn of that most eventful year (1016), again caused by the treachery of Edric, brought about the division of the kingdom. London formed a part of Cnut's portion,[58] and the citizens had to make their peace and purchase their security from their new Danish sovereign. Possibly to overawe them the Danish ships took up their winter quarters there.

On the feast of St. Andrew (30 Nov.) Edmund Ironside died in London, the city that had so loyally clung to him throughout all his misfortunes. Surrounded by treachery and incompetence, it was only his capacity and indomitable perseverance that enabled him to save the country from a complete subjection to the Danes. Had he lived he might have been recognised as a second Alfred. After his death Cnut laid claim to

[57] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, 1016. [58] *Florence of Worc.*, 1016.

the whole kingdom of England, and at a Witenagemot held in London at Christmas he was unanimously elected king, to the exclusion of Edmund's sons and brothers.

After the long period of misfortune that the country had suffered by the ravages of war, it required reorganization, a task that Cnut at once set to work to accomplish. He divided England for purposes of government into four parts: Wessex, the kingdom of the English royal house, he kept to himself; East Anglia went to Thurkill; Mercia, which would include London, to the ealdorman Edric; and Northumbria to Eric, his brother-in-law. The traitor Edric probably took up his residence in London, and there at the Christmas gemote of 1017 he with three other Englishmen, Ethelward, son of Ethelmar, Brihtric, son of Alphege of Devonshire, and Northman, son of the ealdorman Leofwine, were tried and executed.[59] We do not know of what crime they were accused, but doubtless they suffered for participation in some plot against Cnut, hatched by the treacherous and restless Edric.

The wealth and prosperity of London were not diminished by the change from English to Danish rule. Cnut probably respected it for the repeated defeats it had inflicted upon him and his countrymen. The wealth of the city is shown by its contribution to the tribute paid to the Danes in 1018, which amounted to one-eighth of the sum levied upon the whole country. The Danes were essentially a seafaring and trading people, just the qualities required for the advancement of a place holding the position of London. The most important body of citizens during the first half of the eleventh century was the lithsmen and butsecarles, the shipmasters or overseas

[59] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* and *Flor. of Worc.*, sub anno 1017; Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, i, 486.

merchants, who seem to have been mostly Danes. Their ships were adaptable for military or mercantile purposes, trading or raiding as might be required, for almost every outlawed Dane became a pirate.[60] The King engaged these lithsmen for the protection of the coasts or for naval expeditions, and so soon as such duties were completed they were discharged and returned to their more peaceful occupation of traders. The naval base continued to be at London, where their engagement and discharge took place.[61] It was the lithsmen of London who at Oxford represented the city when Harold, son of Cnut, was elected king ; and it was they who travelled down all the way to Dartmouth to see to the honourable burial at Winchester of the Danish seafaring Earl of Mercia, Beorn, brother of the King of Denmark, who had probably at one time been their leader and perhaps staller of London.[62] It was again the butsecarles of London who at a later date attended the gemote that elected Edgar the Etheling to the throne. This Danish influence was naturally encouraged by Cnut, and it is not surprising to find the names of important Danish ministers such as Osgod Clapa, Tofig the Proud and his grandson Ansgar, all holding the office of staller, taking a prominent position in the government of London. Ulf, probably a Dane, was portreeve of London, and Earl Godwin, of Danish extraction and sympathies, held Southwark. So numerous were the Danes that they had their own burial ground, for it must be remembered that the early Danish settlers were pagans and consequently could not be buried in Christian churchyards. Their cemetery lay to the west of London, where after their conver-

[60] Cf. The cases of Osgod Clapa, Godwin and his sons and many others.
[61] Cf. *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 1047.
[62] For the office of staller see Chapter VII.

sion the church of St. Clement Danes was apparently built. Upon the accession of Cnut as a Christian king, churches were built by Danes, several of them being dedicated in honour of St. Olaf or Olave, King of Norway, killed in 1030 and recognised as a saint in the following year. If these churches indicate Norse settlements it is interesting to note that they are scattered over London and not confined to any particular district. This large Danish population, however, soon became absorbed, and we find that the sons and grandsons of these settlers were the staunchest supporters of Harold and the English party at the time of the Conquest.

London not only increased in wealth but became more and more prominent as the centre of the kingdom. It was the most appropriate place for holding the gemotes, having almost impregnable defences, almost unlimited accommodation for visitors, and, most important of all, being the centre of the Roman road system, still the principal means of communication in the country. This was the prosperous condition of London during the earlier half of the eleventh century. The chroniclers tell us very little about it, but the lack of historical references implies perhaps an uneventful and peaceful period. Cnut and his two sons were, we know, in London from time to time, and it is more than likely they were frequently resident here.[63]

On the death of Cnut in 1035 a gemote was held at Oxford where Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and almost all the thegns north of the Thames and representatives from London assembled

[63] Cnut was present at Christmas, 1017, at the trial and execution of Edric of Mercia. Rich. of Cirencester, *Speculum Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 172; Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, i, 500, and at the translation of the body of the martyred Archbishop Alphege from St. Paul's to Canterbury in 1023. *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 1023.

and chose Harold Harefoot as king.[64] Earl Godwin, however, and the men of Wessex would not agree, and it was eventually arranged that Queen Emma, widow of Cnut, and Harthacnut their son should hold Wessex, with Godwin as their minister. The attempt by the etheling Alfred, son of Ethelred, to recover his father's kingdom was frustrated by the treachery of Godwin, and the etheling, by the King's orders, was blinded and sent to Ely, where he shortly afterwards died. His followers were sent to the King at London; some, it is said, were disembowelled, others imprisoned and the remainder sold as slaves. Probably, as a result of this conspiracy, Emma had to fly from the country and did not return until after the death of Harold Harefoot. He died at Oxford in 1039 and was buried at Westminster, which is the first reference to this monastery in the Chronicles.

Harthacnut's insistance on the payment of a large gratuity to each member of the crews of his sixty ships that brought him to England is not likely to have made him popular, and was the cause of riots and bloodshed in the West of England. This act of extortion was followed by the desecration of the body of his brother, which he caused to be dug up, decapitated and thrown into the Thames. Here it was found by fishermen and buried by some Danes in their burial ground outside the city, probably at St. Clement Danes.[65] Harthacnut seems to have spent most of his reign in London, and was probably residing there at the time of his death in 1042, which was an appropriate ending to a dissipated life. At the wedding feast at Lambeth of Tofig the Proud, a Danish magnate, with

[64] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 1035.

[65] Will. Malms., *Gesta Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 228; Gerv. Cant., *Gesta Reg.*, (Rolls Ser.), ii, 57.

Githa, daughter of Osgod Clapa, he fell in a fit "as he stood drinking."[66]

Immediately after Harthacnut's death the people met together in London and elected as their king Edward, later known as the Confessor, son of Ethelred the Unready and Emma. The youthful training of Edward at the court of his uncle Richard, Duke of Normandy, naturally imbued him with Norman ideas, and consequently he felt more at home among Normans than with his English and Danish subjects. This preference soon began to influence his court. Already in Cnut's reign Normans, although then a small minority, had been taking a prominent position in London, and among them was Hugolin, a minister of Cnut and later chamberlain of Edward, who was a burhthegn of London.[67] A more important act of favouritism to a Norman was the appointment of Robert, abbot of Jumièges, as Bishop of London at a witenagemote held in London in 1044, and this was followed in 1047 by Robert's advancement to the archbishopric of Canterbury at another gemote held in London. Other Normans took similar important positions, while Godwin and his family became the leaders of a strong party in London opposed to foreign influence. There are signs of disturbances in the kingdom, but what they were the chroniclers do not tell us. The banishment for an unknown misdemeanour in 1046 of Osgod Clapa, the staller, who had a close connexion with London, may have been the result of these disturbances. He was joined as a sea rover by Sweyn, son of Godwin, who for the seduction of Edgifu, abbess of Leominster, had also been

[66] *Flor. of Worc.*, 1042. The site of this event may have been at Clapham in Lambeth which it is thought took its name from Osgod Clapa.

[67] Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, iv, 809, 810, 904

outlawed. Sweyn's lands were divided between his brother Harold and his cousin Beorn, Earl of Eastern Mercia, who refused to give them back to their outlawed relative. Sweyn in revenge enticed Beorn, the darling of the Londoners, to his ships and then murdered him.

The unpopularity of the French influence was brought to a crisis in 1051 by the arrogance of the retinue of Eustace of Boulogne towards the burgesses of Dover. In the riots which ensued many were killed on both sides, and Godwin, as Earl of Kent, was called upon to punish the burgesses. His refusal was considered rebellion, which Edward had no alternative but to suppress. Godwin collected what forces he could from his earldom of Kent, including Kent, Sussex and Wessex; his eldest son Sweyn, as Earl of South-West Mercia, called up his men from Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Somerset and Berkshire; and Harold, as Earl of Essex, brought a contingent from Essex, East Anglia, Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire. The immense power which the house of Godwin thus attempted to wield caused the other magnates some anxiety, and the northern earls rallied to the King's help for this reason rather than their sympathy with the King. It was only by the intervention of Earl Leofric of Mercia that a battle was prevented. Both parties moved to London; the King with a largely increased army taking up his quarters there, and Godwin and his sons with a rapidly decreasing force, at their residence at Southwark. Godwin, finding himself deserted, failed to appear at the gemote which it had been arranged to hold at London, and seeing his danger fled with his wife Judith, daughter of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and his sons Sweyn and Gurth to "Baldwin's land," where all the disaffected congregated. His sons Harold and

Leofwin went to Ireland. The whole family was banished; even Edith, Godwin's daughter and Edward's queen, was dismissed with only one attendant and placed in the custody of the abbess of Wherwell.

Thus the triumph of the Norman party seemed complete. No sooner had Godwin fled than William of Normandy, probably the instigator of the quarrel, arrived with a great retinue of Frenchmen on a visit to his cousin Edward, then apparently in London. It is generally supposed that it was on the occasion of this visit that William extracted the promise of the reversion to the throne of England, which led to his claim in 1066. According to William's story the promise was confirmed by the witan then sitting at London.[68] After being sumptuously entertained he returned to Normandy laden with presents.

In 1052 the feeling against the Normans increased, and many throughout England looked to Godwin to save them from the arrogance of the foreigners. Godwin set sail with a small fleet, probably with the intention of passing up the Thames to London. The King, however, tried to intercept him from Sandwich, but the royal ships being storm-bound and Godwin having returned to Bruges, the King's forces went to their base at London and later dispersed. In the meantime Godwin sailed to the Isle of Wight, where he was reinforced by Harold with his ships from Ireland. In September Godwin and Harold sailed up the Thames to Southwark. Here they found the King and his earls with a fleet of some fifty ships, and an engagement seemed imminent. The tide being too low for Godwin's ships to proceed, they anchored and Godwin got into touch with both the King and the citizens of London.

[68] *Script. Reg. Gest. Will. Conq.*, 47–8.

He prayed the King that he might be restored to the dignities and possessions of which he had been deprived. The King hesitated, and seeing the strength of his opponents, tried to bring up reinforcements. He appealed to the citizens, but they at once declared themselves on the side of Godwin. Thus the hours passed while the water rose, and Godwin found it difficult to restrain his men from beginning an attack. So soon as there was sufficient water Godwin's ships weighed anchor and steered through the bridge along the south side of the river until they came to Southwark. Here apparently his sympathisers from the southern shires had assembled and such land forces as were on the ships, being landed, the southern bank of the Thames was manned. Godwin then formed his ships in a diagonal line across the river with a view apparently of a turning movement against the King's ships. Thus we have the curious spectacle of two opposing forces of Englishmen each in sympathy with the other. On the south side the men were full of enthusiasm for the earl who was to deliver them from the intrigues of the King's Norman ministers, while on the north were those who held the same views and consequently had no heart for their work. Why, the latter argued, should Englishmen destroy each other that the land might be further exposed to the hated foreigner ? These and other like murmurings among the King's troops were told to Godwin by his friends in London. It was clear the King's policy was so unpopular that it was unlikely he could rely on his troops. Godwin, knowing all this, could afford to be magnanimous and humbly suggested a conference.

Under the influence probably of the Londoners the King was reluctantly brought to see the necessity of accepting Godwin's offer. Bishop Stigand and other wise men were

sent as an embassy to Godwin and agreed to hold a gemote on the following day and to give hostages. So soon as the Frenchmen at Edward's court heard that terms were likely to be made they became alarmed and fled in all directions. The feeling in London against them evidently ran very high, for Robert of Jumièges, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ulf, Bishop of Dorchester, with their companions had to cut their way through a party of young men who opposed them at Aldgate, and many were killed and wounded. The bishops fled to Walton-on-the-Naze, where they took ship to Normandy. Among those who took flight was William, the newly appointed Bishop of London.[69]

On the following day (15 September) a gemote was held by Edward "outside the walls of London," probably at Westminster, at which all the earls and the best men of the land attended. Godwin proved his own innocence and that of his family of the crimes laid to their charge. After this Archbishop Robert and all the Frenchmen were outlawed and Stigand was made Archbishop of Canterbury. The gemote seems to have been held in the open air, and after Godwin had received back his arms he and the King went together apparently into the newly built palace at Westminster.[70]

Godwin only survived his restoration a few months and died from a seizure at Winchester at Easter 1053. The story of his death is probably apocryphal; it does not occur in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and has several counterparts in Saxon history. It is said that the King withheld his reconciliation, believing that Godwin was implicated in the death of his brother Alfred. The King and Godwin being in church at

[69] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and *Flor. of Worc.*, anno 1052.
[70] *Ibid.* See note in Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, ii, 601–2.

the time of Mass, the latter took the chalice and swore he had no share in Alfred's death. Later in the day the King being still suspicious, Godwin, while they were at dinner, prayed God that if he had done aught against Alfred the morsel he was eating might choke him. Whereupon the morsel choked him and he died.[71]

It was about this time that Edward began rebuilding Westminster Abbey Church as an obligation for the dispensation of his vow to make a pilgrimage to Rome, which the Pope granted him in 1050. For the purpose of superintending the work he built his palace at Westminster ; and it is important to fix this date, as it probably marks the time at which he transferred his residence from London to Westminster, a point which is so material in the development of London. The new church was completed in 1065, and at Christmas Edward kept his court at Westminster and was present on that day at the hallowing of the church around which the history of the land has since largely centred. There was a great gathering of the witan at the court for the occasion : the two archbishops, Stigand of Canterbury and Aldred of York, and practically all the other bishops, many abbots, the King's chaplains, Reinbald his chancellor, Harold, Leofwin and Gurth, sons of Godwin, the two great northern earls Edwin and Morkar, many thegns, including Ansgar the staller, and other lesser folk.[72] Edward was too ill to be at the ceremony of consecration, at which his place was taken by Queen Edith, and he died on the eve of the Epiphany.

Edward had no children, and the nearest heir was his nephew Edgar, the etheling, son of Edward, younger son of

[71] Will. Malms., *Gesta Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 240.
[72] Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, iv, pp. 180, 189.

Edmund Ironside, who had been sent for safety as a baby to the court of Hungary. Edgar's mother, Agatha, was a Hungarian, and his father only returned to England in 1057 and died immediately on his arrival in London and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. Edward the Confessor never seems to have recognised Edgar as his heir. He was a mere boy, and possibly foreign in his appearance and character. Harold's prominent position in the country during the later years of the Confessor's reign encouraged perhaps the idea of his being a candidate for the coming vacancy of the throne, and he was intriguing no doubt for this position. It is probable that during Edward's last illness, when it was clear he could not recover, debate took place as to the succession among the members of the witan then in London, which was composed of those strongly favourable to the house of Godwin. The King was no doubt urged to name a successor, and it is said with every probability that when at the point of death, he called upon Harold to undertake the care of the kingdom.

The day following the King's death (6 January) was perhaps the most remarkable in the memorable history of Westminster. Within a few hours it saw the burial of the King with all the pomp that a royal funeral entails, amid the manifestations of sorrow by the people ; the meeting of the witan and election of Harold as King of England ; and then, in the same church, the coronation of the new King with all the pageantry attendant to the occasion and the acclamations of the people who had so recently poured out their lamentations there.

Harold immediately saw there was no chance of a peaceful succession for him or, for that matter, for any claimant to the crown. He remained for a short time at Westminster, and then made a progress to the North to ingratiate himself

with the Northumbrians, who had been but slightly represented at his election. He arrived back in time to keep his Easter court in London and remained there for some time collecting the greatest naval and military forces that had ever been brought together in the land, for he knew that an invasion by William was now inevitable.

Tostig, his younger brother, with whom he had quarrelled, had been banished, and while abroad had married Judith, sister of Baldwin of Flanders and aunt of Matilda, wife of William of Normandy. Tostig naturally became the ready tool of William, who no doubt supplied him with forces with which he raided the southern coast of England. Harold heard of his arrival at Sandwich, while in London, and hastened down to the Kentish port, but Tostig retired. The English fleet cruised about the Channel all the summer, but in September the men could not be kept from the harvest and so the ships returned to their base at London.[73]

No sooner had Harold arrived in London than William's plan of campaign opened. The English seas being no longer guarded by the fleet, Tostig, now joined by Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, landed an army in Northumbria. Here they defeated the earls Edwin and Morkar and seized York. This diversion in the North effected what William desired by drawing off all available English forces from the southern coast. Notwithstanding a severe illness, from which he recovered, as the chronicler tells us, "by the prayers of King Edward," Harold assembled his army and by forced marches reached York on 25 September. On the following day he fought the battle of Stamfordbridge in which he was completely victorious, and Harold Hardrada and Tostig were slain.

[73] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 1066.

By a preconcerted plan William of Normandy landed at Pevensey on the Sussex coast on 28 September. Harold heard the news at York on 1 October and he immediately commenced the return march of about 190 miles southward to London. He probably rode ahead of his army and reached London about four days later. As soon as he arrived he began to collect all the additional forces he could from the southern shires. This occupied some six busy days in London, a totally insufficient time when we consider the means of communication then available.

Gurth, one of Harold's brothers, pointed out how inadequate and unprepared the English forces were to meet William's trained and fully equipped army. He urged Harold to remain in London and to let him lay waste all the land between Pevensey and London that William might be starved out; then, if necessary, he would engage the Normans while Harold collected more forces. Harold, however, would not listen to any such advice, and about 11 October marched out of London with the host that had assembled there at his call. The London contingent, led by Ansgar or Esgar the staller, had the place of honour to guard the King's person and his standard.[74]

It is unnecessary to enter into details of the Battle of Hastings, which was fought on Saturday, 14 October, 1066. Had Harold listened to the advice of his brother the well-known result might have been different. "There were slain King Harold and Leofwin his brother and Earl Gurth his brother with many good men: and the Frenchmen gained the field of battle, as God granted them for the sins of the nation." Few of the Londoners can have survived, for the hottest part of the battle was around the King's standard,

[74] Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, iii, 424.

where Harold fell, a spot that was later marked by the high altar of Battle Abbey Church.[75] Ansgar the staller, severely wounded, was carried back to London with the remnant of his company to bring the news of their defeat.[76]

[75] Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, iv, 405. [76] *Ibid.*, iii, 525.

CHAPTER III

NORMAN LONDON

By the time that Ansgar the staller and the fugitives from Hastings had brought news of the defeat of the English and the death of Harold, the northern earls, Edwin and Morkar, had arrived in London; probably they had been unable to collect and bring up their levies, disorganized by their defeat in the North, in time to march with Harold into Sussex. Most of the magnates of the kingdom and many who had fled from Hastings were seeking the safety of the city walls, so that London must have been full to overflowing.[1] Harold was dead and William was not yet recognised as his successor, so that the land was without any central governing authority. The country, as on former occasions, looked for a lead to London, where the principal Englishmen were congregated, and it did not look in vain. Ansgar seems to have been the leading spirit of the city notwithstanding his wounds. It was he, probably, who called a gemote about the end of October to consider the situation. This meeting was attended by Aldred, Archbishop of York, possibly Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, the earls Edwin and Morkar, together with the citizens and "butsecarles" or ship masters of London.[2] At this assembly Edgar the Etheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside,

[1] Freeman, *Norman Conq.*, iii, 525, quoting *Roman de Rou*, 13, 986; *Flor. of Worc.*, 1066; *Will. of Malm.*, iii, 247.

[2] *Flor. of Worc.*, 1066.

who was heir to the throne, was elected king, those present at the election thinking that William would not challenge the right of one whose claim, unlike that of Harold, was so much stronger than his own. Edgar seems to have been in London or Westminster at the time, where probably he performed his only recorded act of sovereign power by confirming the election of the abbot of Peterborough.[3] The Londoners seemed inclined to maintain their choice of a king by hazarding another battle with the invaders, but the withdrawal of the forces of Edwin and Morkar made such a step impracticable.[4]

William was somewhat alarmed at the news of the election, but he could do nothing for the moment, as he had to secure his base in Kent and Sussex, await reinforcements and combat disease which had appeared in his camp.[5] It was 1 December therefore before he began his march along Watling Street towards London. A reconnoitring party of fifty knights seems to have been sent forward and occupied Southwark, from which an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge them was made by the citizens of London. The knights, however, merely burnt Southwark and retired.[6] William made no further demonstration on London, but continued his march along the south side of the Thames until he came to Wallingford, where he passed over the river. It would seem probable that the fifty Norman knights who reconnoitred London had reported the difficulties which were likely to arise if an attack were made from the south bank of the Thames. The citizens had had time to make preparations, as they were well able to to from the experiences of former enterprises of a similar kind.

[3] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 1066. [4] *Flor. of Worc.*, 1066.
[5] *Script. Rerum Gesta, Will. I*, 45–6.
[6] *Ibid.*, 140–1 ; Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, iii, 542.

The bridge was capable of being strongly fortified, so that without a large fleet of specially constructed boats any attempt to cross the river would have been fraught with great danger. Defeat or delay which might result from such an undertaking would at that moment have lost all that had been gained at Hastings. Besides, there was no necessity to hazard such a danger. As William knew full well there were no organized forces to oppose him in the South of England outside the city, and those within were not strong enough to attack in the open, although they could hold London for a considerable time. He therefore adopted the surer and more cautious method of isolating London by wasting the lands around it and cutting off its communication with the rest of the country. These tactics proved successful, and made it evident to the Londoners that further resistance was useless.

By the encircling movement which William adopted he passed on with his army from Wallingford through Buckinghamshire into Hertfordshire and made his head-quarters at Berkhampstead, where he entered upon negotiations with the magnates in London. It has been assumed that the place where these conferences were held was Great Berkhampstead, but the Hon. F. Baring contends that the site of this important event was Little Berkhampstead on the other side of the county.[7] He traces in the Domesday Survey the devastations made by William's army through Hertfordshire to Hertford, near to which Little Berkhampstead lies; he calls attention to the remark of William of Poitiers that the negotiations took place within sight of London, and the statement by Florence of Worcester that William wasted Kent, Middlesex and Hertfordshire until he came to "Beorcham." There can be no

[7] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xiii, 17.

doubt, both from the evidence deduced from Domesday by Mr. Baring and from the necessities of military strategy, that the encircling of London was carried to Hertford, but William of Poitiers' remark is merely figurative, for London is not visible from Great or Little Berkhampstead.[8] The chronicler further points out that William's troops continued wasting the country while the negotiations were in progress.[9] From this it would seem that during the somewhat lengthy negotiations with the magnates of London, William took up his head-quarters probably at Great Berkhampstead, while a force was pushed forward to continue the devastations eastward to Hertford. Great Berkhampstead, the head of a Saxon lordship, was a market town of some importance, having the residence of a wealthy thegn which would afford a habitation for William while treating with the Londoners.[10] It was a more appropriate place for William's head-quarters than Little Berkhampstead, which was then and has remained an unimportant village.

The Conqueror reached Berkhampstead about the middle of December, and at this point it is difficult, between the bald and prosaic account of the Chronicle and the poetic effusion of Guy of Amiens, to arrive at a true estimate of what really occurred in London. According to the much fuller story of the latter authority, Ansgar the staller, who had led the London host at Hastings, was the hero of the occasion. Badly wounded and unable to walk or ride, he had to be carried about in a litter; nevertheless he was the centre of activity within the city. It would seem that William got into com-

[8] There is high land between Little Berkhampstead and London which obscures the view, and Great Berkhampstead is thirty miles from the metropolis.

[9] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 1066.

[10] *V.C.H. Herts*, ii, 165, 171; iii, 428.

munication with Ansgar regarding the surrender of London. According to Guy's somewhat improbable story, William pointed out the advantages to the kingdom if he were acknowledged king, and threw out the hint that if he were but so recognised the affairs of the realm might be administered by Ansgar. On receiving the message Ansgar called together the elders of the city, and indicating the seriousness of the situation, advised caution. The elders agreed to all he proposed, and arranged to select the fittest among them to take a reply to William. The messenger who was sent returned with a glowing description of William, how that he was a very David and Solomon and that he only placed his title to the crown on the gift of the kingdom by Edward, to which he contended the Londoners had given their approval.[11] The witan after consideration acknowledged William's claim, and disavowed the election of Edgar the Etheling. Further, they determined to offer William the crown and to submit themselves to him. The chronicler observes that they were ill-advised not to have done this before "seeing that God would not better things for our sins."[12]

There is some uncertainty as to the persons who went from London to make their submission at Berkhampstead. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that the party consisted of Aldred, Archbishop of York, Edgar, "cild" or the etheling, Earl Edwin and Earl Morkar and all the best men of London.[13] To this list Florence of Worcester adds Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, and Walter, Bishop of Hereford.[14] Professor Freeman doubts the presence of Edwin and Morkar, who on the

[11] See p. 55.

[12] Will. of Poitiers, *Script. Rerum Gest. Will. I*, 142. *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 1066.

[13] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 1066.

[14] *Flor. of Worc.*, 1066.

authority of William of Poitiers, he suggests, made their submission at Barking after William's coronation. On the same authority he thinks that Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was with the party,[15] but William of Poitiers implies that Stigand submitted at Wallingford,[16] and from what we know of the archbishop it is quite conceivable that he was anxious to come to terms with the winning side at the earliest opportunity and was already with William at Berkhampstead.

The meeting which followed was one of the most dramatic and far-reaching episodes in the history of this country. It completed what the Battle of Hastings had begun. Possibly this momentous meeting was held in the house of Edmer Atule, a wealthy thegn under Harold, who had held Berkhampstead, and the hall of his house was the "aula regis" mentioned by Guy of Amiens,[17] for Berkhampstead Castle can scarcely have been sufficiently advanced to have afforded the shelter of even a wooden building. The delegates were admitted to William's presence and the formalities of swearing oaths of allegiance and giving hostages were gone through. The Conqueror first greeted young Edgar the Etheling with great friendliness, and gave him the kiss of peace, then turning to each of the other members of the mission he greeted them in a like manner.[18] Later apparently he addressed them and promised to be a good lord to them, although, as the chronicler remarks, in the midst of his promise his army was plundering the countryside. After consideration he decided to accept the offer of the crown, and appointed the Christmas festival, then only a few days off, for the date of his coronation

[15] *Script. Rerum Gest. Will. I*, p. 148.
[16] *Ibid.*, 141; Freeman, op. cit., iv, 767. The evidence is very obscure
[17] *Script. Rerum Gest. Will. I*, 48. [18] *Ibid.*

at Westminster. In the meanwhile military precautions were taken at London by sending a force to erect fortifications to overawe the citizens, but of what those fortifications consisted the passage in William of Poitiers is too obscure to determine.

William apparently took up his residence at the palace built by Edward at Westminster. On Christmas Day, less than a year after the coronation of Harold, in the same church, the Conqueror was consecrated King of the English. After he had taken an oath to maintain the laws and rule righteously, the coronation ceremony was performed by Aldred, Archbishop of York. Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was present, but owing to his doubtful ecclesiastical position he took but a secondary part in the service.[19] An unfortunate incident occurred in the middle of the ceremony; the acclamations of the sovereign by the people, which still form a part of the coronation service, being mistaken by the Norman guards at the entrance to the church for cries of rebellion, and in alarm they set fire to the houses around. The people, fearing a general pillage of the neighbourhood, rushed out to protect their property, leaving the church deserted except for the ecclesiastics and the King.

Thus by the submission of London the settlement of the crown upon William was assured. From the position of an invader he had become the constitutionally elected and consecrated ruler of the land, and thereafter any opposition to him was treason.

William seems to have left Westminster early in 1067 and to have gone to Barking.[20] It is evident he did not trust the Londoners, who, as we have seen, had strongly favoured the

[19] Will. of Poitiers, *Script. Rerum Gest. Will. I*, 143.
[20] *Ibid.*, 147–8.

house of Godwin. He therefore set about selecting a site for a fortress which would answer the double purpose of overawing the citizens and protecting the city. The most natural position for such a fortress was on the banks of the Thames at the eastern extremity of the city. Any attack from outside at that date would be expected from Scandinavia, and a castle in the position of the Tower of London would command the approach from the east by land and water, and would control the passage of ships up and down the Thames. Work on the new castle, to be built after the Norman fashion, was begun at this time, and William found Barking more convenient than Westminster for superintending the preliminary work. About this time also he probably arranged with Ralf Baynard for the erection of a castle on the western side of the city in the corresponding position to that of the Tower.

William found much to be done in taking the submission of the conquered and in the distribution of their lands among his followers. We are at a disadvantage in examining this question owing to the lack of any return of London in the Domesday Survey. So far as our evidence goes, William seems to have carried out the policy here which he adopted elsewhere in the country, the larger Saxon landowners, the holders of London sokes and manors, were dispossessed to make room for his Norman followers, but the smaller people were not disturbed. The custom for a Norman to take all the lands of a disinherited Englishman, however scattered they might be, helps us but slightly in determining the distribution of the larger holdings in London. The properties of ecclesiastics such as the pre-Conquest sokes of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Deans and Chapters of St. Paul's and St. Martin's-le-Grand, the abbots of St. Albans, West-

minster, Chertsey, Waltham, Ramsey and others would merely pass from Saxon to Norman rule by replacing a Saxon ecclesiastic by a Norman without any dispossession. But with lay fees the matter was different, for although documentary evidence does not enable us to trace exactly the change in their ownership we know that the Saxon holders were dispossessed, because their fees appear at a little later date in the hands of William's followers.

The London fiefs were, however, not all confiscated at once. Ingelric, one of the King's clerks, serving both Edward and William, probably continued to hold his soke of Aldersgate as late as 1069, when he attested a royal charter relating to Exeter.[21] His soke in London and lands in Essex did not pass to Count Eustace of Boulogne until some time after the Count had made peace with William.[22] It is possible that when William pronounced his interpretation of the law that all the land of England had been forfeited to him and gave the English the opportunity of redeeming their property,[23] in many instances he returned the estate or part of it for the life of the holder, as seems to have been the case with regard to Ingelric.

It would have been impolitic on William's part to have driven out all the merchants and traders who had fought for Harold; their wealth would no doubt have been worth confiscation, but by seizing it he would have destroyed a source of revenue and power and a steadying influence in the kingdom which it would have taken a long time to restore. Moreover, it is probable that the Londoners, when they submitted to William at Berkhampstead, made terms with him for the

[21] Round, *Commune of London*, 36; Davis, *Regesta Regum*, i, No. 22, 28.
[22] Cf. Freeman, op. cit., iv, 745–7. Possibly Eustace's reconciliation did not take place until 1069–70. [23] *Ibid.*, iv, 23–6.

retention of their property and privileges as was customary on such occasions. The charter which William granted to the citizens is probably the outcome of such negotiations. It may well have been granted at Westminster after the coronation or during William's stay at Barking.[24] The use of English, which gave way to Latin in royal charters shortly after the Conquest, and its general form both indicate a date during the first few years of his reign.[25] Its terms are those which might have been arranged at Berkhampstead. They consist of three clauses only, namely, (1) that the laws of King Edward's day should be continued; (2) that every child should be his father's heir, after his father's day; (3) that the King would suffer no man to do the citizens wrong. The charter simply guaranteed the continuance of the conditions which prevailed before the Conquest. This small slip of parchment containing only four lines and a word or two forms one of the most precious documents which the citizens possess, for it is their earliest charter and was granted to them at that critical moment when the existence of their much-prized independence was seriously threatened.[26] The charter is addressed to William, the bishop,

[24] It must have been granted before 1075 when William, Bishop of London, to whom it is addressed, died. Mr. H. W. C. Davis (*Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.*, No. 15) is of opinion it was issued at or shortly after the coronation of the Conqueror. A reference to it, he points out, may be traced in Orderic's account (vol. ii, 64) of the measures taken by the King after his coronation: "prudenter, juste, clementerque disposuit quaedam ad ipsius civitatis commoda vel dignitatem."

[25] Royal charters in English are scarce after the first eight or ten years after the Conquest. Cf. Davis, op. cit.

[26] There is some unsatisfactory evidence that William granted another charter to London in which he gave to the citizens the shrievalty and all appurtenances, things and customs. There may be some confusion with a grant to Geoffrey de Mandeville of the shrievalty which we know was farmed by him. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i, 37n., quoting Letter Bk. K, fol. 120b. See also Davis, op. cit., No. 85.

and Gosfregd, the portreeve, and all the citizens (burhwaru) within London, French and English. The bishop was William the Norman, who was consecrated to the See of London in 1051; the portreeve is probably no other than Gosfrid or Geoffrey de Mandeville, who we know was portreeve or sheriff of London and Middlesex during the reign of the Conqueror[27] or Rufus, or both. William, after his coronation (25 Dec., 1066) and before leaving England for Normandy (21 Feb., 1067), arranged for the peaceful settlement of London,[28] and nothing is more likely than that he would place it under the rule of his faithful follower Geoffrey de Mandeville, and endow him with the possessions and possibly the office of staller, which had been formerly held by London's chief citizen Ansgar.

William remained in Normandy until the beginning of December, and on his return he seems to have taken up his residence at Westminster, where he kept his mid-winter court (1067–8), at which Eustace of Boulogne was tried and condemned for the revolt in Kent. It was at this court that William made an important grant to St. Martin's-le-Grand, founded by his clerk Ingelric,[29] whose soke of Aldersgate and property elsewhere in England Eustace later held.

The early part of the year was occupied by the siege of Exeter and reduction of the West of England, in which probably a contingent from London was employed, as we know it was against the revolt in Somerset and Dorset in the following year. William was back in London for his Whitsuntide court, when Queen Matilda was crowned at Westminster by Arch-

[27] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 439; Davis, loc. cit.; Stow, *Surv. of London*, i, 287; iii, 148, 382.

[28] Orderic, loc. cit. [29] Round, *Commune of London*, 34.

bishop Aldred in the presence of a great assembly of both French and English.[30] At this time the custom was established of keeping the Christmas court at Gloucester, that of Easter at Winchester, and that of Whitsuntide at London,[31] but it was of course impossible to adhere absolutely to such a rule, and courts were held at London or Westminster at other feasts than Whitsuntide. It was apparently to the Whitsuntide court 1069 that Aldred, Archbishop of York, hastened in great anger because, as he complained, William had supported his sheriff of Yorkshire in seizing certain wheat and stores belonging to the archbishopric. He refused the royal greeting and told the King that when God for the sins of the nation had given the Normans victory, he blessed the King and placed the crown upon his head, but now he cursed him as an oppressor of the ministers of God and a breaker of his oath. William, it is said, fell contrite at the prelate's feet and made full restitution that the blessing which the archbishop had given him might not be turned into a curse.[32]

Beyond the occurrences of the Whitsuntide courts, the trial of Waltheof in 1076, and ten years later the dubbing Henry, the King's son, a knight,[33] we have little information about London during the remainder of the Conqueror's reign. On 14 August, 1077, there was one of those terrible fires which periodically afflicted the city, when the chronicler asserted that there never had been so great a fire since London was built.[34] In the following year Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester,

[30] Round, *Commune of London*, 34.

[31] *Chron. of Steph., Hen. II and Rich. I* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 44; Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 335.

[32] *Act. Pont. Ebor. x Script.*, 1703–4; Freeman, op. cit., iv, 264–5.

[33] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, *Peterboro Chron.* and *Flor. of Worc.*, 1086.

[34] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*

came to London to reside with his friend Edmer in order to begin the superintendence of building the White Tower, which, although he lived some thirty years after, he never saw completed.

The year of the Conqueror's death (1087) was full of disasters, storms, fires and pestilence. St. Paul's and many other minsters were burnt in London and again the greater part of the city was destroyed.[35] This gave the opportunity of rebuilding the cathedral on a grander scale. William Rufus was crowned at Westminster on 26 September, 1087, and kept his Christmas court there, entertaining a large concourse of magnates.[36] He spent a great part of his reign at Westminster, where he kept both his Whitsuntide and Christmas courts. In 1088 when the conspiracy of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and others to place Robert of Normandy, the King's brother, on the throne, broke out in Kent,[37] Rufus collected his forces at London, which he made his head-quarters. While laying siege to Pevensey Castle, Odo's garrison at Rochester attacked London and Canterbury, where they carried fire and sword against the inhabitants. It would seem, however, that there was a strong and organized party both in Canterbury and London favourable to Robert and Odo. William de St. Calais, Bishop of Durham and minister of William Rufus, in his remonstrance for the seizure of the lands of his bishopric for his adherence to Bishop Odo in 1089, refers to this incident. He declared that when London rebelled he kept it to its fealty and took twelve of the better citizens with him to the King in order that he might influence the rest through them, and

[35] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and *Flor. of Worc.*, 1087.
[36] *Chron. Steph., Hen. II and Rich. I* (Rolls. Ser.), iv, 46.
[37] *Flor. of Worc.*, 1088.

he could prove this by the testimony of their barons.[38] It was probably to this rebellion and the disturbed condition of the city at the time that two large and important hoards of coins can be referred, the one, from the evidence of the coins, was deposited after 1075 and the other, consisting of over 7000 coins, was of about the same time.[39]

William's attraction to Westminster was largely no doubt on account of the building operations he was carrying out. His hall there was finished in 1099, and at Whitsuntide in that year he held his court in it for the first time.[40] The impressment of labour and the collection of money from the counties near London for building this hall, for erecting the wall round the Tower and for building operations at London Bridge[41] had become intolerable, and the outcry towards the end of his reign grew dangerously loud. Anselm felt so strongly the necessity for reformation with regard to these and other burdens that he asked for leave to visit the Pope and consult with him. After two refusals he departed in November, 1097.[42] These heavy burdens and the effects of a devastating fire in 1092,[43] which destroyed almost the whole city, made the close of the eleventh century a calamitous time for London.

On the death of William Rufus in the New Forest by the arrow of Walter Tyrell on 2 August, 1100, Henry, his brother, was elected king at Winchester on the following day. Two days later (5 August), after taking an oath to annul all the unrighteous acts of his brother and maintain the best laws

[38] *Symeon of Durham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 189.
[39] *V.C.H. London*, i, 159, 161.
[40] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 1099. [41] *Ibid.*, 1097.
[42] *Chron. of Steph., Hen. II and Rich. I* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 56.
[43] *Flor. of Worc.*, 1092.

that were in force in any king's time,[44] he was crowned at Westminster by Maurice, Bishop of London. Although Westminster was intimately connected with all the important domestic events of Henry's reign it was only for the first ten years that he " bare his crown " and kept his Christmas and Whitsuntide courts with regularity there. Shortly after his coronation he married at Westminster amidst great rejoicings Maud or Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and Margaret his wife, granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. Nine years later, at his Whitsuntide court at London, or more probably Westminster, Maud, the daughter of this union, who had been born in London,[45] was betrothed at the age of seven to the Emperor Henry V of Germany. In another nine years (1 May, 1118) Queen Maud, who had lived for many years in great state at Westminster, died there and was buried in the Abbey.[46]

After the disaster to the *White Ship* and the death of Henry's only son William, the King called together the nobles of the kingdom at London, as the chronicler says, but probably meaning Westminster, on 6 January, 1121, and taking their advice " that he might no longer lead an improper life," he determined to marry Adelaide, daughter of Guy, Duke of Lorraine, " a maiden adorned with the comeliness of a modest countenance."[47] This marriage unfortunately brought no male heir to the throne, and at the Christmas court, 1126, held at Windsor and adjourned to London on 1 January, 1127, an oath was administered to those present to accept the

[44] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and *Flor. of Worc.*, 1100; Matth. Paris (*Hist. Angl.*, i, 176) states he promised to restore the laws of Edward the Confessor
[45] *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, pt. i, 15.
[46] Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 494–5.
[47] *Flor. of Worc.*, 1121.

Empress Maud as the sole legitimate representative of her grandfather, uncle and father.[48]

Besides the royal courts held at Westminster during the earlier part of the reign, London, or perhaps Westminster, became the recognised place for holding ecclesiastical councils such as those dealing with the question of the marriage of the clergy (1102), ecclesiastical investiture (1107) and important synods in 1125 and 1127.

Very little is recorded of what was happening in London during the reign of Henry I. One of the worst of the frequent fires occurred in May, 1132, when a great part of London was consumed, including the church of St. Paul,[49] which had suffered from a like calamity less than fifty years before. Mr. Loftie gives the date of this latter fire as 1136 and traces its course from Londonstone westward to St. Paul's, then eastward to Aldgate and southward to the bridge.[50] As a consequence of this disaster we begin to find reference more often to stone houses, and probably as a further result more stringent building regulations were enforced.

Although our information on the point is slight, there can be little doubt that important internal developments were taking place in London at this time. Throughout a great part of Europe there had been a wave of commercial prosperity which naturally centred in the towns. The constant warfare between neighbouring states meant the purchase of large stocks of military stores, which brought wealth to the burghers. The cost of the wars also necessitated the borrowing of money from the same source. With the independence which grew

[48] Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 495, 528. Round *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 31, 32.

[49] *Flor. of Worc.*, 1132. [50] Loftie, *Hist. of London*, i, 101.

from such wealth and prosperity, the burghers desired greater freedom, and particularly the government of their towns by a body of councillors selected by themselves and a separate judiciary. These desires being formulated into demands were refused by the lords of such towns. Thus there came into existence the sworn "Commune" or association of burghers, whose object was to wrest these privileges from their lords and when obtained, such a commune became the governing body of the town. As in all such movements there were gradual and divergent stages of development which can be discerned in this instance. In its final state the commune as known on the Continent was a "seigneurie collective populaire," a corporate feudal entity or free vassal of the king or other lord, that was only liable collectively to the incidents of a feudal lordship. Its tendency was oligarchic and not democratic, being represented probably by a council, at the head of which was usually a mayor. As a popular conspiracy, revolutionary in character, it was naturally hated by all existing authorities.

It is unlikely that London remained for long untouched by this movement. During the Anglo-Saxon rule, particularly under the influence of Cnut and Edward the Confessor, its citizens were independent, respected and attained high positions in the country. Under Norman rule, however, it is more than likely that repressive measures were brought to bear. The territorial aristocracy in whose hands the government of the city then largely lay consisted of Norman absentees who delegated their authority to the reeves of their sokes; the reeves naturally carried out their administrative duties in a narrower spirit than would animate their masters. The sokes came to be looked upon solely as sources of profit by their

owners, who had little interest in the welfare of their tenants. Another grievance was the heavy burdens already referred to, which the early Norman monarchs laid upon London and the district, to enable them to carry out their vast building schemes, while the increased farm of the county that Henry I imposed to pay for his wars in France, had ultimately to be obtained from the pockets of the citizens. These grievances raised a spirit of discontent and led to the creation of two parties, the one aristocratic, that desired to conserve the existing conditions, and the other oligarchic, that aimed at a municipal form of government such as was afforded by the communes then being established abroad.

Besides these influences, London was becoming more and more cosmopolitan. Its prosperity, notwithstanding these burdens, was attracting enterprising merchants from all parts of Europe: Frenchmen, Normans, Flemings, Danes, Norwegians, Germans, Italians and Spaniards can all be traced among the citizens of London at this time. It is noteworthy with regard to this point of mixed nationalities how quickly these foreigners became absorbed by marriage and common interests into the general body of citizens.[51] In the case of the Normans this might perhaps be expected, but it was the same with those from other nations. Not only were they absorbed in this way, but almost from their first arrival they were eligible for administrative advancement. We are told by one of the historians of Becket that many natives of Rouen and Caen, the principal cities of Normandy, settled in London, because it was more convenient and better adapted for trade than their own towns. Amongst them were Gilbert Becket, a merchant of Rouen, and Rose his wife, of burgess rank from

[51] Cf. Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 304.

Caen, parents of the martyred archbishop. They arrived here during the first few years of the twelfth century, and Gilbert so prospered that he soon rose to be portreeve of London.[52] Similar stories could be told of many other Normans, of the Bocoints and Buckerells, Italian financiers, of the Lorengs from Loraine, de Hispanias, the Flemings and numerous others. It is unlikely that these merchants settling in London would keep silence on the question of municipal government that was so keenly debated at the places whence they came; in fact, we know that they cannot have done so, for it is a matter that colours almost every event in the history of London throughout the latter two-thirds of the twelfth century. We have some indication of it perhaps during the eleventh century in the influence of the citizens of London in the rebellion of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, of 1089, as shown by William de St. Calais' remonstrance already referred to.

The leading influence of the aristocratic party in London was, there can be little doubt, the Mandeville family. As has already been suggested, Geoffrey or Goisfred de Mandeville appears to have succeeded to the lands and office of Ansgar the staller, immediately after the Conquest. His soke probably adjoined the Tower, and at one time may have included a part of the site of the Tower itself. Writs and charters are addressed to him as chief official of London until the close of the reign of William Rufus.[53] He was a man of great wealth, having considerable estates lying in eleven different counties at the time of the Domesday Survey (1086).[54] Besides being sheriff

[52] *Materials for Hist. of Archbp. Thos. Becket* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 14; iv, 81.

[53] See the address of the charter by Will. II to the Cnihtengild, Dugdale. *Mon. Angl.*, vi, 156; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, v, 488.

[54] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 142, 166.

of London and Middlesex he was also sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire.[55] It is not known whether he had the custody of the Tower, which was held by his son William in 1101,[56] and probably for some years before and after. Mr. Round calls attention to the association of the shrievalty with the custody of the castle of the county town which occurs in other counties,[57] and Geoffrey's connexion with the stallership and the soke which occupied the Tower ward points to the possibility of his having had charge of the Tower of London. It is quite likely, however, that William de Mandeville was the first custodian of the Tower, the work upon which was scarcely advanced enough to require such an officer before the end of the eleventh century.

It would seem that Geoffrey de Mandeville, although he lived until about 1113,[58] ceased to be the chief officer in London at the time of the outcry against the burdens that were placed upon the citizens at the end of the century, and was succeeded by Hugh de Buckland. His son William, so far as we know, never held either the office of justiciar or sheriff, but continued to have the custody of the Tower possibly until his death about 1129–30, when he was apparently succeeded by his son, the infamous Geoffrey, who was created Earl of Essex. The offices of justiciar and sheriff, which had been held together by the first Geoffrey de Mandeville, were separated early in the twelfth century, but the exact date of their severance is uncertain.

As Mr. Round has pointed out, there was no alteration in

[55] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 142, 166.

[56] *Ordericus Vitalis* (Soc. de l'histoire de France), iv, 108.

[57] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 439.

[58] Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 150–1. See also Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 38n., quoting charters in *Abingdon Cart.*, ii, 73, 85, 116.

this state of affairs up to the time of the earliest and unfortunately isolated Pipe Roll made up at Michaelmas, 1130.[59] At some time after the date of this roll Henry granted an important charter to London. It is undated, but was issued from Westminster. As Henry was abroad from the summer of 1130 to August, 1131, and on 2 August, 1133, crossed the seas never to return alive to England, the date is narrowed to two years. The entry in the Pipe Roll for 1129–30,[60] that the men of London paid £30 on account of 100 marks of silver for having the election of their sheriff, Mr. Round thinks, indicates an arrangement that was preliminary to the leasing of the farm in perpetuity, a concession which was granted by this charter. Mr. Farrer, by careful comparison of this charter with others, places it in the first half of 1132,[61] when Henry was at Westminster, which is a date that would well suit it and one we can probably accept. This charter gave no new constitution to London and probably created no new office. It seems to be rather a codification of the existing laws and customs of old time recognised in London, laws and customs which in most instances went back to a date before the Conquest. The right of farming the county at a fixed sum of £300 which was confirmed to the citizens had already been given to Geoffrey de Mandeville,[62] and by the privilege of electing their own sheriff it would follow that the citizens would be responsible for the farm which that officer had to pay. The practices of electing a sheriff at the folkmote and of farming

[59] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 365.

[60] *Rot. Magn. Pip.* (Rec. Com.), 148.

[61] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xxxiv (1919), p. 566. Henry was at Westminster again before Easter in 1133 and later in the year. *Ibid.*, 569.

[62] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 141–2, 166. The farm had been raised to £500 in 1130. *Ibid.*, 366. For text of Charter see App. No. I.

a county, according to Dr. Stubbs,[63] go back probably to a time before the Conquest and, although the former practice was not in force in London in the reigns of William I and William II, for all we know to the contrary they may both have been used in the time of Edward the Confessor, a period to which the citizens refer as the time of their greatest freedom.[64] The remaining clauses contain nothing but what probably was already in force before the charter was granted.

Henry I died in Normandy on 1 December, 1135, and his body was buried at the abbey of Reading. His nephew Stephen, son of his sister Adela, who was Count of Boulogne in right of his wife Maud, daughter of Count Eustace of Boulogne, hastened to England to claim the kingdom notwithstanding that the English magnates had recognised the late king's daughter Maud as heir-apparent. Some perhaps thought that the rule of a woman was incompatible with the anxieties of those strenuous days. Stephen received no welcome at Dover or at Canterbury, but he hurried on to London, where the citizens assembled to greet him. Again the citizens made terms with their future sovereign, and Stephen was compelled to come to an agreement (*mutuum juramentum*) that in return for accepting him as their king he would undertake to rule the kingdom peacefully. No doubt also he promised to preserve their liberties as recognised in the charter of Henry I or perhaps allow them the liberties used in the

[63] *Constit. Hist.*, i, 126, 131, 410. In the early part of the thirteenth century it was not uncommon for the men of a county to elect their sheriff. Cf. *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1225–32, p. 45, for Somerset and Dorset; p. 472, for Notts and Derby; *Ibid.*, 1216–25, p. 554, for Devon. The election of the sheriff at the folkmote points to an early origin for the practice as the husting was taking the place of the folkmote after the Conquest.

[64] *Flor. of Worc.*, 1141. For text of charter of Henry I, see App. No. I.

time of Edward the Confessor, which the citizens claimed were greater than Henry had given them.[65] After this preliminary, the elders, possibly the aldermen (*majores natu*), and as many magnates of the land as could be brought together, elected him king, probably at the folkmote.[66] Mr. Round calls attention to the resemblance of this agreement to that exacted in similar circumstances by those foreign towns which enjoyed the rights of a commune, and he suggests that "what the Londoners really claimed in 1135 was not the right to elect a king of all England but to choose their own lord independently of the rest of the kingdom and to do so by a separate negotiation between himself and them."[67] After his acceptance as king in London, Stephen went on to Winchester, where his brother Henry was bishop, and here again he was well received by the citizens. He then returned to London and was crowned at Westminster about 22 December. After his coronation he made a progress through the land, first to Reading for the burial of the late king and then to the North, and returned to London in time to hold his Easter court (1136) at Westminster. This court was of great splendour and was intended to impress the country with his power and popularity. At it the Queen was crowned in the presence of the archbishops of Canterbury and York and seventeen bishops, Henry de Sully, son of the King's brother William, Henry, son of the King of Scots, and a host of English magnates.

For two years Stephen sat more or less securely on his throne, but in 1138 movements began in favour of the Empress Maud. Stephen, never wanting in personal bravery, was a weak king. Rebellions arose and were put down, but no punishments were

[65] *Ibid.* [66] *Gesta Stephani* (Rolls Ser.), 6.
[67] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 247–9.

exacted; hence it was seen that crimes could be committed with impunity. The natural result of such a policy was anarchy.

The landing of the Empress Maud at Arundel on 30 September, 1139; Stephen's chivalrous if weak decision to send her with an escort to her half-brother Robert, Earl of Gloucester, at Bristol; and the defection of his adherents, are matters which belong to the history of the nation. It was, however, in consequence of these events that Geoffrey de Mandeville began those intrigues for his own advancement which played so important a part in the history of Stephen's reign, and particularly in the history of London. The power he held as constable of the Tower and that he acquired from his possessions in the eastern counties, made him a formidable enemy and a powerful friend. It was probably as a reminder to Stephen of this power that in the spring of 1140 he seized Constance, daughter of the King of France, who had lately been married to Stephen's son Eustace, and detained her in the Tower.[68] Stephen, although he was compelled to overlook the outrage for reasons of policy, never forgave it. At the same time it had the effect of hastening the grant of the earldom of Essex which Stephen conferred upon Geoffrey in the latter part of 1140 in order to retain his services.[69]

Stephen kept his Whitsuntide court (26 May, 1140) at the Tower, where he entered into negotiations with the Empress as to terms of peace.[70] During these negotiations, and for some time afterwards, he had his head-quarters in London

[68] *Will. de Newburgh* (Rolls Ser.), i, 45; Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 47.
[69] Round, op. cit., 49.
[70] Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 564.

and she had hers at Winchester. It was while keeping his Christmas court at London in 1140 that Stephen received news of the seizure of Lincoln Castle by Randle, Earl of Chester. He at once started off on that fatal expedition which led to the Battle of Lincoln on 2 February, 1141, in which he was defeated by the Earl of Gloucester and taken prisoner.

By the King's capture the government of the country was paralysed. The Empress, doubting her reception in London, hastened to Winchester to consult with Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester and papal legate. Here she was received as the Lady of England (*Domina Angliæ*), for she had not yet been elected and crowned; and many things had to be arranged before those ceremonies could be carried out. On 8 April a council, mainly of ecclesiastics, was held under the presidency of the Bishop on behalf of the Empress. Stephen, the Bishop maintained, had forfeited the crown by his bad government. Those assembled, the clerical party that Stephen had offended, were ready enough to applaud this speech; but the Bishop remembered that the Londoners, who had elected Stephen and consistently supported him, had not been consulted, and it was necessary to obtain their concurrence to any settlement. He therefore sent messengers to summon representatives of the citizens of London, "who were as aristocrats (*optimates*) on account of the greatness of their city." The representatives arrived on the following day (April 9), and being introduced to the assembly stated that they had been sent from the commune which they call London (*a communione quam vocant Londoniarum*) not to contest the points but to offer prayers for the release of their lord the King from captivity and this all the barons (meaning perhaps the barons of

London)[71] who had been received into their commune (*in eorum communionem*) earnestly entreated from the legate, the archbishop and the rest of the clergy who were present. The Bishop replied that it ill became the Londoners, who were considered in England as peers, to favour those who deserted their lord in battle, by whose counsel the King had dishonoured the Church and who only curried favour with the Londoners in order to fleece them of their money. A similar request for the release of the King was then made by Stephen's queen, through one of her clerks, and received a like refusal. On the following day the council was dissolved and the Londoners returned home.[72]

It would appear from these negotiations that the Londoners, taking their opportunity from Stephen's embarrassments, had established a commune, in which Stephen had possibly acquiesced. Communes no doubt, like all such constitutions, varied in their degree, and there is no reason to suppose that the Londoners were able to set up a full commune of the continental form with its mayoralty. It is probable, on the other hand, that they obtained the recognition of some form of municipal organization with an elected council which could then be more easily formed as the control of the justiciarship and shrievalty was in their hands by the charter of Henry I. Whether the address of a letter of Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen, to the commune (*commune*) of London of this time, thanking the citizens for their fidelity and stedfastness to Stephen, refers to the commune in this sense or

[71] Cf. Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 117. Mr. Round takes *barones* to be the barons of the realm, but the barons of London as a body were probably more likely to be received into the commune of London.

[72] Will. Malms. *Gesta Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 576–7. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i, 49.

merely to the body of citizens, as Mr. Round thinks more probable, it is impossible to decide.[73]

After the meeting of the council at Winchester the Empress felt that it would be necessary for her to be elected in London and crowned at Westminster, and therefore started on a leisurely journey towards London. Apparently the slowness of her progress was caused by the disinclination of the Londoners to receive her. Very little light can be thrown on the happenings in London at this time, but what little we know points to a violent dispute between Geoffrey de Mandeville and the citizens. Geoffrey, although he had received many favours from Stephen, was secretly endeavouring to get more power and wealth from the Empress. It was well known that the Empress would have nothing to do with the party favourable to a commune, and Geoffrey no doubt attempted to suppress it. This probably led to the riots that we know took place in London, in which Aubrey de Vere, Geoffrey's father-in-law and formerly sheriff and justiciar, was killed on 9 May.[74]

The Empress reached St. Albans in June, where she was received by processions from the Abbey amid great rejoicings. Here she gave audience to a deputation from London regarding the surrender of the city to her. Again the Londoners made terms with the incoming sovereign.[75] We do not know what those terms were ; it may be that the aristocratic party, led by Geoffrey de Mandeville, had temporarily got the upper hand. Later the Empress set out in state for London. At Knightsbridge she was greeted by the citizens, as was customary, and arrived at Westminster a few days before 24 June,

[73] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 116, quoting Harl. MS. 1708, fol. 113. Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies on Stubbs' Constit. Hist.* (transl. W. E. Rhodes), 94.

[74] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 81, citing Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 174.

[75] *Flor. of Worc.*, 1141.

where she was met by processions from the Abbey.[76] Her court here was not large, for her arrogance and want of tact had alienated many from her cause. It consisted of Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, brother of Stephen ; the Bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, Ely, St. David's ; William the Chancellor ; Earl Robert of Gloucester, the Empress' half brother ; Earl Baldwin ; Earl William of Mohun ; Brian Fitz Count and some nine others. Among other business transacted during her residence at Westminster, the Empress confirmed the election of Robert de Sigillo to the bishopric of London.[77]

In the meantime Queen Maud, wife of Stephen, who had collected forces in Kent and had possibly obtained reinforcements from abroad, marched on Southwark, ravaged the country round and sent raiding parties into London. She petitioned her cousin the Empress for the release of her husband, whom she undertook to persuade to serve God as a monk or a pilgrim. The petition was backed up by the greatest nobles of England, who offered valuable securities, but the Empress would not give way. Then the citizens of London prayed that they might be permitted to observe the laws of Edward the Confessor and not those of Henry her father, which were too severe, but again the Empress would not listen to them and demanded further money.[78] The crowning point of her folly was her grant to Geoffrey de Mandeville, who had now openly espoused her cause, of the hereditary wardenship of the Tower of London with power to strengthen it at his will. This set London aflame. To have Geoffrey, the oppressor, the man who was without scruples, moral or religious, perpetually

[76] Will. Malms., *Gesta Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 577.
[77] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 93.
[78] *Flor. of Worc.*, sub anno 1141.

over them could not be tolerated. We may be quite sure that Geoffrey had strongly opposed every attempt at the establishment of their much cherished commune. The very day the grant was made (24 June) the folkmote bell was rung to call the citizens together, and having hurriedly taken an oath to expel the Empress, and having issued an order for her apprehension, they flew to arms. They then marched out of the gates towards the palace of Westminster and were joined on the way by the Queen's forces from Southwark. The Empress, however, had been warned by some of the citizens, and she and her attendants made an ignominious flight. So precipitate was it that they had to leave all their apparel behind them.[79] Thus the Empress by her arrogance to the Londoners lost all that she had gained, and her coronation, for which she had come to Westminster, never took place. Again the weight of London turned the scale in the national crisis.

The citizens now threw in their lot completely with Stephen and gave their promise to the Bishop of Winchester to assist in effecting his brother's release. They and the Queen's forces then blockaded Geoffrey de Mandeville, who had just joined the Empress' party, in the Tower.[80] Geoffrey, however, now seeing he was on the losing side, at once joined the citizens against the Empress and seized her agent, the new Bishop of London, at his palace at Fulham, keeping him prisoner until he ransomed himself.[81]

Stephen's queen, who had more of the ruling spirit than her husband, tried to ingratiate herself with all who could

[79] *Flor. of Worc.*, 1141. Will. of Malmesbury (Rolls Ser.), ii, 578. *Gesta Stephani*, (Rolls Ser.) 78.

[80] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 118. [81] *Ibid.*

advance her cause. We know she borrowed money from Gervase of Cornhill, then justiciar of London,[82] and there can be little doubt from the evidence adduced by Mr. Round that she confirmed to Geoffrey de Mandeville all his honours, lands and offices in order to obtain his full support.[83] It is possible that he and the Londoners had for a time made up their differences, for when the Bishop of Winchester, then favourable to his brother's interest, was besieged in his castle at Winchester, Geoffrey marched with a thousand Londoners to his rescue. This timely help from London again turned the scale in Stephen's favour. The forces of the Empress were routed at Winchester, where the Londoners are said to have pillaged the city without mercy.[84]

As a result of this defeat the Empress fled to Gloucester and the King was released from imprisonment on 1 November. At a council held at Westminster on 7 December he was again recognised as King. From Westminster he went on to Canterbury, where he kept his Christmas court, 1141, and it is thought that he, like Richard I, was there crowned a second time in consequence of the disgrace of his captivity. It was at this Christmas court, as Mr. Round points out, that Stephen gave his second charter to Geoffrey de Mandeville[85] as some reward for what Geoffrey and his Londoners had done to turn the tide of battle at Winchester. We may be sure that the price of his defection from the Empress had been fixed before he started upon the enterprise, for the possession of the Tower of London enabled him to dictate his terms, which involved the placing of London, the chief and wealthiest city in the land,

[82] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 120.
[83] *Ibid.*, 119.
[84] *Gesta Stephani* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 84.
[85] *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 138–9.

completely in his power. Not only was the custody of the Tower and its fortifications granted to him and his heirs, but he was to have the justiciarship and shrievalty of London and Middlesex in fee and inheritance at the same farm as Geoffrey his grandfather held them, to wit £300. By this means he obtained the judicial and fiscal authority over London. Besides these most valuable gifts Geoffrey's wealth and power were enormously increased by this charter, the twenty knights granted by the Empress were increased by Stephen to sixty, and so in other matters.[86] Stephen sacrificed the interests of London to the avarice of the Earl. Such a grant meant the relinquishing of the Londoners' dream of a commune and any form of municipal government that had been acquired during the earlier part of Stephen's reign, a condition to which it is unlikely that they would quietly submit. Stephen's illness and reported death in April, 1142, probably encouraged Geoffrey de Mandeville to enter into fresh negotiations with the Empress. He appears to have offered her the support of himself and his brother-in-law, Aubrey de Vere, in return for a further charter from her, far more ample than that so recently obtained from Stephen. The additional lands and powers to be granted in the new charter lay outside London, but there were to be confirmed to him the hereditary wardenship of the Tower and the fortifications around it with power to strengthen it at his will; also he was to have the shrievalty of London and Middlesex at the farm of £300, as his grandfather held it, and the hereditary justiciarship of London and Middlesex and of Essex and Hertfordshire, so that no other justiciar (*nulla alia justicia*) might plead in these shrievalties.[87]

[86] *Ibid.*, 140–4. [87] *Ibid.*, 166–72.

We have no actual record of what was happening in London at this time, but it is perfectly clear from the Empress Maud's charter that further violent disputes and quarrels were in progress between the Londoners and Earl Geoffrey. That the Earl was determined to crush the citizens is shown by a curious compact in the charter, whereby it was agreed that neither the Count of Anjou, the Empress, nor their son, the future King Henry II, should make any peace or concord with the burgesses of London except with the consent and assent of the Earl, because, as it is expressly stated, they were his mortal enemies.[88] Fortunately for the Londoners this charter never came into operation, for the power of the Empress had gone, but it shows the intensity of feeling that existed between them and the Earl.

There can be no doubt that Geoffrey de Mandeville was a party to the conspiracy to bring over the Count of Anjou with an army to help his wife, the Empress, and this charter was the price of his assistance. Stephen, however, anticipated their designs by seizing their stronghold at Wareham. Eventually he besieged the Empress in the castle of Oxford, from which she had to escape by being let down from the Norman tower, clothed in white so as to be indistinguishable from the snow which was then on the ground. She was accompanied by only three knights in her flight to Wallingford, where she met her son the future king, then aged nine and a half years.

Geoffrey de Mandeville's treachery gradually leaked out, and in the autumn of 1143, while the court was at St. Albans, he was accused of treason and offered the choice customary at the time, of death or surrender of his castles. He chose the latter and was taken to London and there compelled to order

[88] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 168.

his garrison at the Tower to surrender to the King. He then gave up his other castles and fled to Ramsey, where he fortified the abbey and lived on plundering the district. Frightful cruelties which he and his followers perpetrated in the Fen district are recorded. He spared neither men, women nor children, ecclesiastics nor laymen. "In the groans of the sufferers, in the shrieks of the tortured, men beheld the fulfilment of the words of St. John the Apostle: 'In those days shall men desire to die and death shall flee from them.'"[89] At length in the autumn of 1144 he was killed by the arrow of one of the King's bowmen at Burwell near Fordham. It cannot be wondered that such a traitor and oppressor of men was the mortal enemy of the Londoners, ever the upholders of freedom.

The fall of the Earl of Essex must have been a great relief to the Londoners, but it is doubtful whether his fate brought them any nearer to their much-desired independence. We find they supplied troops at the capture of Farringdon from the Earl of Gloucester in 1145,[90] but who took the place of the Earl of Essex as constable of the Tower and leader of the hosts is not known.

Stephen pressed the recognition of his son Eustace as heir to the throne in 1150, and despatched the Archbishop of York to obtain the sanction of the Pope. Papal permission, however, was decidedly withheld after some months of negotiation. Notwithstanding such refusal Stephen called a council in London early in April, 1152, to consider the acknowledgment of Eustace as heir and his consecration as king. The lay barons swore allegiance to Eustace, which was all that they

[89] *Ibid.*, 219, citing *Historia Eliensis*, 623.
[90] *Will. of Newburgh* (Rolls Ser.), i, 48.

could do, but the prelates, acting on the papal prohibition, totally refused to consecrate him. Stephen, in a rage, imprisoned them, but to no effect, and the matter had to be left in abeyance.

It was probably the pressure by Stephen to procure the succession to the throne of his son Eustace which brought Henry of Anjou with an army to England in January, 1153, and, after taking Malmesbury Castle, Stephen and Henry agreed to a truce. Eustace, annoyed at this, left his father and, as it is said, in punishment for laying waste the lands of St. Edmund, he was smitten with madness and died on 17 August, 1153. The death of Eustace paved the way for an agreement with Henry, for William, second son of Stephen, seems to have had no ambition for the crown. On 6 November it was agreed at Winchester that Henry should be recognised as heir to the throne, and Stephen should remain king for the rest of his life. From Winchester Stephen and Henry with their courts moved on to London, where they were received with great rejoicing by the citizens.

Henry had not long to wait for the crown, as Stephen died on 25 October in the following year (1154). Henry did not arrive in England until 8 December. He went direct to Winchester and then on to Westminster, where he was crowned in the Abbey on 19 December.

At the accession of Henry II there was no bargaining by the Londoners for new liberties. Although Henry granted a commune to Rochelle and Rouen *c.* 1175,[91] and perhaps to other towns that were under his dominion on the Continent, he had no intention of extending such a privilege to London. In or about 1155, possibly at the coronation festivities in

[91] Round, *Doc. France*, p. 453 and Pref. p. xxiii.

December, 1154, or at his courts at London and Westminster held in March and at Christmas in the following year, Henry granted the citizens a charter,[92] but it omitted important clauses contained in the charter of his grandfather and fell far short of what the citizens tried to extract from Stephen. The principal omissions were the privileges of the election by the citizens of their sheriff, of their holding London and Middlesex at a fixed farm of £300 and of their quittance from scot, lot and danegeld. There is no reference to the customs and rights of the soke owners, to the folkmote nor to the office of justiciar.[93] Henry was by character opposed to the ambitious ideals of the citizens for self-government, and the citizens had had sufficient experience of the want of a strong central authority during Stephen's reign to be too particular as to privileges which came into conflict with the royal prejudice. Besides his aversion to municipal independence, Henry's great need for money compelled him to obtain resources by every means in his power, and hence we find the omission in his charter of the clauses inserted in that of his grandfather, exempting the citizens from royal taxation. But the fact that in 1184–5 London was called upon to pay an aid, the assessment for which was made by wards and the amount approved by the justices,[94] tends perhaps to show that Henry acknowledged the independence of the citizens by imposing an aid and not a tallage. The reimposition of the danegeld, if the clause of the charter of the first Henry discharging the citizens from its payment was ever in force, must have been a bitter disappointment to the citizens, and although the geld was levied

[92] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 367n.
[93] *Ibid.*, 368–9; Petit-Dutaillis, op. cit., 95.
[94] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, vol. xxxiv (31 Hen. II), p. 219.

for the last time in 1162 its place was taken by aids. This latter form of taxation being assessed upon the taxable capacities of a district shows conspicuously the great wealth of London over other towns. In 1159 London paid an aid of £1000, while Norwich paid £400, and York, Lincoln and Northampton only 200 marks apiece.[95] But notwithstanding his arbitrary methods, Henry encouraged commerce and looked after the interests of his traders. He could therefore always rely on the citizens of the cities under his rule, whereby he secured an immense advantage when he was confronted with some sudden difficulty. When an accusation arose in 1170 of the extortions of the sheriffs he at once held an inquiry and deposed the delinquents, but the London sheriffs were some of the few who retained their office.

Although Henry proved a good and strong ruler of a kingdom he was quite unable to control his own family. So soon as his sons were old enough they raised rebellions against their father which caused disturbances throughout his dominions. The King's eldest son, Henry, had received the fealty of the magnates of England at a council held at Westminster in 1162, over which Becket presided, and in order to secure the succession the King caused him to be crowned at Westminster in 1170 by the Archbishop of York. Great preparations were made for the event, and the citizens of London provided most of the robes and other necessaries for the occasion.[96] Becket considered it a slight that he, as primate of all England, had not been called upon to perform the ceremony, and the episode increased the bitterness between him and the King. The murder of Becket at the end of the year does not im-

[95] L. F. Salzmann, *Henry II*, 203. *Pipe Roll Soc.*, i, 2.
[96] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xv (16 Hen. II), 15.

mediately concern London, but it produced an ill-feeling towards Henry which made it easier for his son, the young King, to raise the standard of rebellion in 1173. The young King's party was not strong in this country, his chief adherents being the King of Scotland and the Earl of Leicester. London was, however, to some extent affected by the revolt, for we know that Gilbert Montfichet was fortifying his tower there against the King, and the Earl of Clare, who had interests in the city, was plotting with him. From the disorders which come with such a war, the whole country was brought into a disturbed condition. The streets of London were unsafe after dark and anyone going out at night was liable to robbery and murder. Houses also were attacked and robbed by bands of young men, sons of the leading citizens. In illustration of the lawless condition of the time a case is recorded of a burglary in London which occurred about 1174 or possibly a little earlier. One of these bands broke into the stone-built house of a wealthy citizen by making a hole in the wall with crow-bars. The wealthy citizen, however, who had had warning, armed himself and called to his assistance his friends and servants. So soon as one of the robbers got through the hole the citizen rushed on him with a brazier full of burning coals and wax and recognised him as Andrew Bocointe, one of the family of wealthy Italian financiers in London. To defend himself Bocointe drew his knife and aimed a blow at the citizen which was warded off by his shirt of mail. The citizen raised the cry of Thieves! Thieves! and attacking the intruder with great fury, cut off his hand. Thereupon the rest of the robbers fled, but Bocointe was secured. On the following day, being brought before Richard de Luci, the justiciar, he turned king's evidence. Among his accomplices who were

arrested was John Viel (Senex, Vetus or Vetulus), a member of one of the wealthiest families in London, who, being unable to clear himself by ordeal of water,[97] offered the King 500 marks of silver for his life. The King, however, refused the bribe and he was hanged. Another accomplice was John Lafaite, the scion of another wealthy family, who escaped by flight with only the loss of his goods.[98]

The King, who was in Normandy, saw that his presence was necessary in England, and arriving at Southampton on 8 July, he went to Canterbury to do penance for the murder of Becket and then came on to London. Here he found the majority of the citizens were loyal and showed their loyalty by a gift of 1000 marks besides smaller sums which they contributed individually.[99] While Henry was in the city news was brought him at the end of July of the capture of King William of Scotland. The messenger arrived in the middle of the night, and recognising no ceremony rushed into the room where the King was in bed asleep to give him the good news.[1] The next day all the bells of London were set ringing and there were great rejoicings. Although the capture of the King of Scotland brought the rebellion in England virtually to an end, the disturbances in London did not cease. It is evident that these riots were instigated by antagonism to the Crown and probably the desire for municipal independence, for the King seems to

[97] In the ordeal by water the accused was bound hand and foot and thrown into a pond; if he floated he was guilty, but if he sank his innocence was proved.

[98] *Gesta Hen. II and Rich. I* (Rolls Ser.), i, 155; cf. Round, *Commune of Lond.*, 112–3. John Viel (Vetus) was possibly a son of William Viel, who paid a fine for having the house which was of John Viel in 1185. *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxxiv, p. 220.

[99] Round, *Commune of London*, 232.

[1] Will. de Newburgh (Rolls Ser.), i, 189.

have taken the liberties of the city into his hands, and from 24 June, 1174, until Michaelmas, 1176, London was held, as it was under like circumstances in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, by keepers or bailiffs in the place of the regular sheriffs.[2] In 1177 the King was much angered by the murder of Lord Ferrers' brother apparently while attending one of the numerous councils which were held in London in that year.[3]

Another result probably of these disturbances was a general inquiry as to the gilds of London. We know that the gild of weavers existed in London as an authorized society from 1130,[4] and it is possible that the goldsmiths[5] may have had an equally early existence. In 1156 the weavers and bakers each owed money to the exchequer for their gilds.[6] The inquiry of 1179–80, however, disclosed the fact that there were no less than nineteen adulterine or unauthorized gilds in the city. Only four of them were returned as trade gilds, namely the goldsmiths, which, judging by the fine of 45 marks imposed upon it, must have been far the wealthiest; then the grocers or pepperers, who were fined 16 marks, and the butchers and cloth-workers, each with a paltry fine of a mark; five were gilds of the Bridge erected in 1176, two of which were fined 15 marks, one 10 marks, and the remaining two 1 mark; the gild of St. Lazarus was fined the substantial sum of 25 marks, the gild of Pilgrims 40s. and the gild of Haliwell 20s. The rest were only distinguished by the names of their alder-

[2] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxi, 8; xxii, 15; xxiii, 11. Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, App. 297.

[3] *Gesta Hen. II and Rich. I* (Rolls Ser.), i, 155.

[4] *Rot. Magn. Pip.* (Rec. Com.), 31 Hen. I, 144.

[5] *Ibid.*, 126. Under Berkshire there is a pardon of 14s. 3d. to the goldsmiths of London.

[6] *Great Roll of the Pipe* (Rec. Com.), 2, Hen. II, p. 4.

men, but some of them were evidently rich, such as that of which Goscelin was alderman, which was fined 30 marks, and that of which William de Haverhill was alderman fined 10 marks. Of the remainder one was fined 2 marks, four 1 mark and one ½ mark. The gilds do not seem to have been suppressed, as the amounts of their fines continue on the Pipe Rolls year by year.[7] As it was the conspiracy, the secret oath, that was considered so dangerous in the commune, so the gilds were doubtless looked upon as secret societies, dangerous to the community, and it was thought desirable to license them before allowing them to be established. There is nothing to show what was the nature of the gilds of which we have only the names of the aldermen, but probably they were social and religious. There was, however, naturally a feeling of danger with regard to such combinations in that restless age, for the confidence in gilds as a part of the government of the city did not come for many years.

England had little share in the first Crusade of 1096, but in the second of 1146–7 a fleet of 164 ships assembled at Dartmouth, which was composed of English, Germans and Flemings, to which London sent a contingent under Andrew of London. The ships were delayed at Lisbon, where the English were induced to assist in driving out the Moors.[8] More interest was taken in the third Crusade. On 18 March, 1185, a council, attended by the magnates of the realm, was held at Clerkenwell to consider the question of the deliverance of Jerusalem, and a resolution was made to consult Philip, King of France.[9] Although neither Henry nor Philip was anxious to enter upon

[7] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxx, 159; xxxi, 161; xxxii, 163; xxxiv, 219, *et seq.*
[8] *Memor. of Rich. I* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. cxliv.
[9] *Gesta Hen. II and Rich. I* (Rolls Ser.), i, 336.

a crusade at the time, the Church pressed for it and created a great popular enthusiasm in its favour. Two hundred of the wealthiest citizens of London were elected in the spring of 1188 to collect the tax called the Saladin tithe in London, while in York the collectors numbered only one hundred. Thus the numbers being appointed in proportion to the population, it is shown that there were twice as many people in London as there were in York.[10] Special services were held and daily prayers offered in St. Paul's Cathedral for the deliverance of the Holy Land, and much interest was manifested in the preparations for the expedition.

In the midst of all the preparations Henry II died at Chinon on 6 July, 1189, separated from his wife and deserted by all his sons, whose rebellions, and particularly that of the youngest, John, had broken his heart. Richard had already settled to go on the Crusade, which was to start in the spring, so that he had little time to arrange the affairs of his new kingdom. He made provision for his mother, a prisoner since 1173, and gave John his brother the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, with the earldom of Gloucester and all the lands of William Peverel of Nottingham, including the Peverel soke in London. After attending John's marriage at Marlborough he came on to London, and on 3 September was crowned at Westminster amid a great concourse of prelates and nobles. At the coronation banquet the citizens of London served in the butlery and the citizens of Winchester in the kitchen.[11]

During the coronation festivities, by an unfortunate misunderstanding, a raid was made on the Jews of London, in which many of them were killed. The Jews had greatly increased since their first arrival in this country as dependents

[10] *Ibid.*, ii, 33. [11] *Chron. Rog. de Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 12.

of the Norman kings. Having no scruples regarding the lending of money on usury, a trade that was supposed to be denied to Christians, they made large profits and were naturally disliked. The Jewry of London, to which their residence was restricted, was situated between Westcheap or Cheapside and Poultry and the Gildhall.[12] It was a large and wealthy community, which prospered under the privileges that Henry II granted generally to the Jews. Henry's dealings with them and the fines he imposed upon them ran into many thousands in the course of a year.[13] Partly as a result of their being a privileged class and partly on account of their extortions and wealth, and perhaps to a certain extent owing to the wave of enthusiasm for the Crusades, the popular aversion to the Jews increased during the latter part of the twelfth century. Fearing witchcraft, Richard had forbidden any woman or Jew to attend his coronation, but some Jews unaware of the order seem to have gone to Westminster for the purpose of making offerings to the new King. The courtiers and others, mistaking their intentions and incensed by their presence, threw them out of the court with such violence that some were killed and others wounded and left half dead. The people of London, hearing of the disturbances, made an attack on the Jewry, burnt several of the houses, robbed and killed many of the inmates of both sexes. Some of the Jews sought refuge in the Tower and others in the houses of friends. One of them, Benedict, the Jew of York, in fear of death was baptised by

[12] See Pipe Roll for 5 Rich. I, where under London and Middlesex the names of many of the Jews and the situations of their houses are given. Amongst them were houses in the parishes of St. Olave, St. Lawrence, St. Mary ad Fontem, St. Mary in Cuninghope and Westcheap and in the fee of the Earl of Gloucester.

[13] Cf. Pipe Rolls for Hen. II and Rich. I.

William, prior of St. Mary's of York, who was apparently at the coronation and perhaps knew Benedict as a fellow-citizen. On the following day the King, hearing of what had happened, sent for Benedict and asked him if he were a Christian. To which he replied that he only permitted himself to be made a Christian in order to escape death. The King thereupon asked the Archbishop of Canterbury what should be done in the matter, to which he bluntly replied that if Benedict was unwilling to be a man of God then let him be a man of the Devil; and so he was returned to the Jewish law. But the King was annoyed by the ill-treatment of his dependents and caused an inquiry to be made regarding the riots, as a result of which several persons were arrested and three hanged.[14] This was only preliminary to a general attack upon the Jews throughout the country, but the massacres recorded by the Chroniclers seem to be somewhat exaggerated, judging from the increasing dealings with Jews which are shown on the Exchequer accounts throughout this time.

The coronation festivities being over, Richard was impatient to begin his journey to Palestine, but it was not until June, 1190, that the expedition, like that of the second crusade, sailed from Dartmouth. Londoners contributed a large contingent and provided a ship for themselves. When in the Bay of Biscay they were caught in a storm and it was feared they would perish. In the midst of their peril St. Thomas of Canterbury, it is said, appeared to William Fitz Osbert, who attained further fame later, and Geoffrey the Goldsmith, citizens of London, telling them not to be afraid, and shortly afterwards they arrived safely at " Silvia " in Portugal. Here the Londoners were persuaded to wait for a time to assist the

[14] *Gesta Hen. II and Rich. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 79.

King of Portugal to expel the Emperor of Morocco from his lands.[15]

Richard's adventures and hardships need not be referred to. His hurried departure from his new kingdom left it a prey to bitterly opposed factions. He knew little of England and looked upon it mainly as a source from which to draw the large sums he required for the Crusade. He endeavoured to obtain money by every means in his power, and boasted that if he could only find a buyer he would sell London itself.[16] As was customary at the time, he sold the chancellorship, the purchaser being William Longchamp, who became Bishop of Ely. When the King went abroad he left the new chancellor and Hugh de Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, the justiciars, in charge of the kingdom with five assistants, including William Marshal Earl of Pembroke, and Geoffrey Fitz Piers.

With the object probably of extracting more money from the city, instead of appointing, as usual, sheriffs at a farm of £500, Richard, at Michaelmas, 1189, put in keepers (*custodes*).[17] These keepers or wardens in their endeavour to obtain all the profit it was possible to secure, farmed everything that was likely to yield any return, such as the tron or great beam for weighing heavy goods and the standard measure (*sextarium*), the customs of Billingsgate, Botolphsgate near the Bridge and Gracechurch market and the King's exchange, and at the same time exacted very large sums from the Jews.[18] Their methods, however, did not apparently answer, and at Michaelmas 1190, no doubt for a substantial sum and possibly by the

[15] *Gesta Hen. II and Rich. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 116–18. A similar story is told of the Londoners who took part in the second crusade.

[16] *Chron. of Steph., Hen. II and Rich. I* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 388.

[17] *Great Roll of the Pipe*, 1 *Rich. I* (Rec. Com.), p. 223. Round, *Commune of London*, 234.

[18] Pipe Roll 2 Rich. I; *ibid.*, 3 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.).

endeavour of Longchamp to gain the favour of London in his quarrel with the barons, the citizens as a body obtained the farm of London and Middlesex at a fixed rent of £300, which had been granted to them under the charter of Henry I. This privilege would naturally carry with it the right of electing the sheriffs, and the citizens chose William de Haverhill and John Bocoint, two well-known Londoners, to act for them.[19] It was during the shrievalty of these sheriffs that the disputes between the justiciars caused by the arrogance of Longchamp brought about a political crisis in the country. John, who now arrived on the scene, posed as the champion of the people, while Longchamp proclaimed him as a usurper. The chancellor secured the royal castles by replacing the King's officers with his own followers.[20] At the Tower of London, the custody of which Richard had given him, he appointed William de Pointel, one of his adherents, as constable. He strengthened the defences with a deep moat and increased the supply of military and other stores.[21] About the same time he made Osbert Longchamp, his brother, custodian of the Palace of Westminster.[22]

The city was still divided in politics. The aristocratic party that favoured Longchamp was led by Henry de Cornhill, and the municipal party that looked to John took Richard Fitz Reiner as their leader. It is curious to observe that these two leaders had been intimately associated in the government and trade of the city. They were joint sheriffs in 1187–9, and together had many trading transactions with the King by

[19] Pipe Roll 3 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.).
[20] *Gesta Hen. II and Rich. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 101.
[21] *Ibid.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 106.
[22] Pipe Rolls 2 Rich. I and 3 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.). For relationship see *Ralph de Diceto* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 100. Another brother Robert was prior of Ely and abbot of St. Mary of York.

supplying him with robes, cloth and goods of various kinds. Henry de Cornhill, besides being a great merchant, acted as a justice, and we find him administering the law in Kent, Sussex, Hants, Dorset, Wilts, Somerset and Devon. He was sheriff of Kent and Surrey, and had been a trusted minister of Henry II. A strong feeling seems to have been raised against him in the city, possibly on account of his adherence to the hated Longchamp and by his opposition to the farming of the shrievalty to the citizens. At the end of the term of office which he held with Richard Fitz Reiner there was a debt of £192 1s. 10d., half of which was set upon each sheriff. Henry de Cornhill paid his part at once out of the surplus of his farm of Surrey and from sums owing for arms, cloth, wine, etc., supplied to the King, but Richard Fitz Reiner's debt was carried forward.[23] So soon as Henry de Cornhill had relinquished the office of joint sheriff he received on 11 October, 1189, a confirmation of the bailiwicks and custodies of all the cities which he held under Henry II except the bailiwick or shrievalty of London, apparently on account of his disfavour with the citizens.[24] In 1191 he was appointed keeper of the Exchanges of the whole of England except Winchester, in which office he had to deal with very large sums of money.[25] He seems to have died in 1193, when Ralph and Reginald his brothers owed 100 marks for having the custodies and bailiwicks which he had held,[26] and in the following year Ralph alone is set down as owing a further £100 that the King would receive his account of the debts and goods of his brother *sine*

[23] *Great Roll of the Pipe*, 1 Rich. I (Rec. Com.), 225.

[24] Harl. Ch. 43 C. 29.

[25] Pipe Roll 3 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.). The farm of the exchanges went to Guy de Vou in 1197. *Ibid.*, 9 Rich. I.

[26] *Ibid.*, 5 Rich. I.

ira et indignatione.[27] These entries are continued for some years.

Richard Fitz Reiner, on the other hand, was intimately connected with John, who was apparently being financed by both Richard Fitz Reiner and Henry his brother. So soon as John was granted the honour of Peverel of Nottingham, on the accession of Richard I, he conveyed certain lands of the honour to the Fitz Reiners in payment of a debt,[28] and about the same time granted the soke of Peverel of Nottingham in London to Richard Fitz Reiner, probably for a like reason.[29] After the death of Richard Fitz Reiner, which apparently took place at the end of 1191,[30] John presided at a court of arbitration for the division of his property between his brothers William and Henry.[31]

In the summer of 1191 the whole country was in a disturbed condition owing to the disputes between John, with whom Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, sided, and Longchamp, the chancellor. It would appear that there was rioting in London about this time and in consequence the custody of the city and the Tower were held by Earl William Marshal for thirty days.[32] Matters were made worse in September by the arrest of Geoffrey, Archbishop of York. Fearing that difficulties would arise by the presence of his near relatives in England,

[27] *Ibid.*, 6 Rich. I and following years. In 1197 we find that Ralph de Cornhill owed 2000 marks for having the lands of which he was disseised and for the King's benevolence. *Ibid.*, 9 Rich. I.

[28] Maitland, *Bracton's Note-book*, case no. 994.

[29] Harl. Ch. 43 C. 32.

[30] See Pipe Roll for 3 Rich. I, in which William and Henry Fitz Reiner answer for the old farm of London in the place of Richard.

[31] *Rot. Cur. Reg.* (Rec. Com.), i, app. cv.

[32] Pipe Roll 3 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.). Gilbert Carburnel owed £25 10s. of the farm of London, then held by the citizens, for the thirty days the custody of London and the Tower was held by Earl William.

Richard had exacted an oath from John, Count of Mortain, and his half-brother Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, to absent themselves from England for three years. John, however, was released from his oath at the request of his mother, and Geoffrey, considering such release should apply to him also, returned. Longchamp at once sent down William de Pointel, constable of the Tower, and Aubrey de Marines or Marney, an Essex knight, to arrest him at Dover.[33] Shortly afterwards Geoffrey was released and came to London, where he was well received and where he and six other bishops excommunicated Longchamp, Aubrey de Marney and Alexander de Pointel, evidently a relation of the Constable of the Tower.[34] John took up the quarrel of his half-brother and summoned the chancellor to meet him at Reading. On the failure of Longchamp to appear, John set out for London and the chancellor, who was at Windsor, also hurried to the city and shut himself up in the Tower, preparing for a siege.[35] A skirmish seems to have taken place between the retinues of the two leaders, in which one of John's knights was killed. John and Longchamp and almost all the magnates of the realm arrived in London on 7 October, 1191, and John stayed at the house of his friend and supporter Richard Fitz Reiner.[36] Here apparently on that memorable evening terms were drawn up whereby John should receive the support of the citizens and in return he promised to acknowledge a commune in London. On the following day John, the Archbishop of Rouen and all the bishops, earls and barons and the citizens of London with them, assembled at St. Paul's, being summoned by the great bell

[33] The hire of their horses to go to Dover is entered on Pipe Roll 3 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.).

[34] *Ralph de Diceto* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 98.

[35] *Ibid.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 99.

[36] *Ibid.*

which called the citizens together.[37] They accused the chancellor of many misdemeanours, principally that he refused to take counsel with those who had been associated with him by the King. Then the Archbishop of Rouen and William Marshal showed letters from Richard when at Messina, declaring that if the chancellor did anything to the detriment of the kingdom he should be superseded by the Archbishop of Rouen. Longchamp was thereupon deposed and the Archbishop of Rouen made governor in his place. After this John and the magnates there assembled granted the citizens of London their commune and swore to maintain it and the authority of the city unsullied during the King's pleasure.[38] Then came the other part of the agreement and the citizens and magnates swore fealty to King Richard, saving the fealty to John whom they would receive as their lord if the King should die without issue. By this oath Arthur, John's nephew, was passed over in the succession to the Crown. The chancellor on the following day at a meeting on the east side of the Tower swore to surrender his castles and gave up the Tower and Windsor.[39] On 11 October he went to Bermondsey and gave as sureties for the surrender of his other castles his brothers Henry and Osbert. The next day he fled to Dover, accompanied by Gilbert, Bishop of Rochester, and Henry de Cornhill, the leader of the aristocratic party in London and then sheriff of Kent. At Dover he tried to cross overseas dressed as a woman and was discovered, but eventually escaped to France.[40]

[37] Ralph de Diceto says in the chapter house (ii, 99). Benedictus says *in atrio ecclesie.*

[38] *Ralph de Diceto* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 99; *Gesta Hen. II and Rich. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 214; *Roger of Hoveden*, iii, 141.

[39] *Ralph de Diceto* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 100.

[40] *Ibid.*, 101–2.

Lack of information prevents us from following the course of events in London at this time. The grant of the commune did not amount to more than a promise under oath and conditional on the pleasure of the absent king, that John and the barons of the realm would make no opposition to the development of a communal organization by the citizens. No charter granting a commune was demanded or ever granted. It has been stated by London chroniclers, who wrote, however, long after the event, that the date of the election of Henry Fitz Ailwin, the first mayor, was in the year beginning Michaelmas, 1188.[41] But this date is obviously wrong; for one reason the commune was not conceded to London until three years later, and there is evidence to show that Henry Fitz Ailwin was not mayor on 30 November 1191.[42] The exact date of his election is not recorded. It is probable that the office of mayor would have fallen to Richard Fitz Reiner, who had negotiated the recognition of the commune, had he not died almost immediately after the compact. His death may have caused a delay. There is evidence that the mayor had become a well-recognized officer by the spring of 1193,[43] and the form of oath to the commune is extant which it is said was imposed while Richard was a prisoner in Germany during the summer of that year. By this oath the person to whom it was tendered swore to be faithful to the King and obedient to the mayor and échevins

[41] *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (Camden Soc.), p. 1; *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 319. Cf. the evidence on the point set out by Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i, 66.

[42] *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, p. iii, iv, and see article by Mr. Round in *Academy*, 12 Nov., 1887, vol. xxxii, p. 320.

[43] *Roger de Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 212. See also reference to a deed made in the full husting before Henry, Mayor of London, and William Fitz Isabel and William Fitz Alulf, sheriffs. These sheriffs were appointed at Michaelmas, 1193, and continued in office a year (*Colchester Chart.*) (Roxburgh Club), ii, 297.

nd pay respect to the good men (*probi homines*) of London.[44] Thus the date of election is reduced to a period of under two ears, and as the election of a mayor has always been held in he latter part of the year, we may perhaps assign it with ome degree of probability to the autumn of 1192. It is nlikely that the mayor was at first able to exercise full uthority, for so long as the sheriffs were appointed by and esponsible to the Crown they would be unwilling to relinquish ny of their powers, and indeed it would not be fair to expect hem to do so as they had to pay the yearly farm for such ights. It was not until after Richard had confirmed the harter of his father in 1194 that the citizens as a body were gain allowed to hold the farm ;[45] having gained this privilege, he full authority of the mayor could be exercised.

It is unfortunate that during these few years, which form ne of the most important periods in the constitutional de- elopment of London, our information of passing events is so neagre. There is no record of anything of importance happen- ng in London during 1192. William de Pointel, Longchamp's ominee, was superseded in the constableship of the Tower by oger Fitz Reinfred, and probably other adherents of the hancellor were removed. The year 1193 was, however, itical. News reached England early in the year that Richard ad been taken prisoner by the Emperor Henry of Germany. ohn, who had gone to France in the previous year to plot ith King Philip against his brother, immediately returned ith an army of mercenaries for the purpose of seizing the ingdom and fortified himself at Windsor Castle. London,

[44] Round, *Commune of London*, 235–6 ; Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies Supplementary to Stubbs' Constit. Hist.*, 96.

[45] Pipe Roll, 4 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.).

notwithstanding its negotiations with John a little more than a year before, remained loyal to Richard. Mangonels and other siege engines were sent down from London to Windsor to overawe the castle there, and the Tower of London was put in a state of defence, large sums being spent on its repair.[46] The efforts of the citizens were effectual, and John, seeing that under the vigorous administration of Hubert Walter he was unlikely to meet with any success, retired to France.

The absorbing question of the time was the means of collecting the sum demanded for the King's ransom, and it is in connexion with this that we have the first official recognition of a mayor of London. The treasurers appointed in the spring of 1193 for the sum to be collected, were Hubert Walter, Archbishop-elect of Canterbury, Richard Fitz Neale, Bishop of London, the Earls of Arundel and Warren and the Mayor of London.[47] This recognition of the Mayor of London was a brilliant stroke of policy of Hubert Walter, Richard's emissary for the collection of the ransom and the new justiciár, for by it he bought the goodwill of the Londoners. Collectively and individually they heartily responded to the appeal.

Towards the end of 1193 the collections for the King's ransom were sufficient to secure Richard's release, and he arrived back in the spring of 1194, reaching London on 16 March. Almost at once he started for Nottingham, where John's adherents still held out in the castle there. The siege engines which had been sent from London to Windsor were now transferred to Nottingham.[48] Richard took Nottingham Castle and sent up a number of prisoners to the Tower who

[46] Pipe Roll, 5 Rich. I. (Works of the Tower of London. Separate account.)

[47] *Roger de Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 212.

[48] Pipe Roll, 6 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.).

were afterwards distributed among the castles of Canterbury, Rochester and Chilham.[49] He then held a council at Nottingham and went on to Winchester, where he was crowned a second time, to renew the office of King after his captivity. While at Winchester, on 23 April, he confirmed his father's charter to London. It is important to notice that the charter ignores all that had happened in October, 1191. There is no mention of a mayor nor of the commune, the clauses in the charter of Henry I granting to the citizens the farm of the city and county at a fixed rent of £300, and the election of the sheriffs, privileges which had already been allowed for a year during his reign (1190–1), are omitted. The charter of Richard follows clause by clause that of his father, no more and no less. Richard, like all the rulers of his time, hated any claim to municipal independence by the cities under his rule. John, irresponsible at the time, had sworn to uphold the commune and persuaded the barons to do the same in order to win over the citizens in his disputes with Longchamp and for his recognition as heir to the throne, but it must be remembered that their oath was only to remain in force during the King's pleasure.[50] Richard, who was always begging for loans and gifts, had no opportunity of suppressing the concession which had been made in his absence, but he never recognised it. Neither King Richard nor his father King Henry, said Richard of Devizes, would have permitted it for a million marks of silver, and goes on to describe the commune as *tumor plebis, timor regni, tepor sacerdotii.*[51]

Richard left England in less than three weeks, never to return, so that he did not hear the disappointment which

[49] Pipe Roll, 6 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.). [50] See pp. 111, 112.
[51] *Chron. Steph. Hen. II and Rich. I* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 416.

the charter must have been to the Londoners. It is clear that expostulations were made, however, and Richard, being in serious financial straits owing to the French wars in 1195, was obliged to listen to them. In that year we find by the Pipe Roll that the citizens of London made a gift of 1500 marks for the benevolence of the King and for preserving their liberties and for aid for the redemption of the King. Various citizens individually also gave sums from 100 marks to 500 marks for the like benevolence. It was probably as a result of these gifts that at Michaelmas, 1195, Richard, no doubt with great reluctance, permitted the citizens to farm London and Middlesex and elect their own sheriffs to account at the Exchequer for them.[52] The citizens indeed seem to have taken over the farm some weeks before Michaelmas as they made themselves responsible for £61 3s. 10d. of the old farm of the year just past. From this date the citizens from year to year farmed London and Middlesex at the fixed rent of £300 until the charter of John in 1199 granted them the shrievalty, and then, except for seizures by the Crown, continuously thereafter.

The confusion caused by the overlapping of the offices of sheriff and mayor from the time of the election of the first mayor, probably in 1192, until the autumn of 1195 when the citizens had the farm of the shrievalty, apparently gave rise to disturbances. It was a period of extremely heavy taxation for the redemption of the King, and later for his wars in France, which severely affected every class. The oligarchic party of traders was now triumphant. The members of it had obtained what they had so long fought for in the commune, such as it was. The old aristocratic party, comprising what

[52] Pipe Roll, 8 Rich. II (Lond. and Midd.).

remained of the soke-owning class, was fast disappearing, and a new democratic party at the other extremity of the social order was arising, which eventually became representative of the craftsmen and was hereafter to play so important a part in the history of London. Riots arose in 1194–5 owing to the alleged unfair incidence of taxation which it was complained fell more heavily upon the poor of London than upon the rich. William Fitz Osbert, called Longbeard, who was the leader of the popular party, had been a captain in the London contingent of the third Crusade. He was apparently back in London in 1190 when he obtained a writ against Adam de Sudwerck.[53] In 1194 he denounced his brother Richard for treasonable language, accusing him and others of saying that come what may, the Londoners will never have any other king than the mayor of London.[54] This Richard Fitz Osbert was apparently a wealthy man, and may be identified with the sheriff of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire of the same name. If the accusation against him is true he was evidently an ardent partisan of the communal party, to which Longbeard and his followers were obviously opposed. Longbeard went to France to lay his grievances before the King, to whom as a Crusader he was possibly known. He appealed against the enmity of the authorities of London towards him; but Richard had sufficient trouble on his hands without burning his fingers in the fiery disputes then rife in London, and it is evident that Longbeard got little sympathy. He had a large following in London, which is given at the impossible number of 52,000,[55]

[53] Pipe Roll, 2 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.).

[54] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 8th Ed., p. 308; Palgrave, *Rotuli Curiae Regis* (Rec. Com.), i, 69, pref., p. vii *et seq.* William may have had a grudge against his brother regarding the distribution of their father's property. See *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxxvi, 53.

[55] *Gesta Rerum Anglicarum* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 468.

but in any case it was sufficiently menacing in 1195 for Archbishop Hubert Walter, the justiciar, to demand hostages for the good behaviour of the people. In consequence of his inflammatory speeches, Longbeard was summoned and appeared guarded by his followers. Two citizens with an armed band were sent to arrest him, and in a fight which ensued one of the citizens was killed. Longbeard and his associates took sanctuary in the tower of Bow Church, which by order of the Archbishop was set on fire. The refugees tried to escape, but Longbeard, after being stabbed by the son of the citizen who had been killed, was taken prisoner, and he and nine others were executed on 6 April, 1196.[56] The whole proceedings caused a considerable stir at the time. There was a strong feeling in favour of the rioters, Longbeard being reckoned a martyr and his relics being held to have performed miraculous cures. The Archbishop was drawn into a long dispute with the dean and chapter of Canterbury for breaking the sanctuary of Bow Church. The King also seems to have been displeased about the matter and disowned a writ that was issued for the seizure of Longbeard's house,[57] and some leading citizens were fined. Most important, however, is the evidence apparently, of a party in London strong in number, which was unfavourable to the commune, indicating the rise of a democracy eventually to supersede the failing influence of an aristocracy as opponents to the oligarchical party.

At the time of the death of Richard at Chalus on 6 April, 1199, John was in Brittany and did not reach England until 25 May. Two days later (Ascension Day) he was crowned at Westminster by Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury.

[56] Palgrave, *Rotuli Curiae Regis* (Rec. Com.), i, 69, and pref. vii.
[57] Pipe Roll, 9 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.).

Affairs in France called for John's presence there, but before his return, while he was at Shoreham on 17 June, waiting to cross over, he granted two charters to the citizens of London. The one was a confirmation of the charters of Henry II and Richard I, which, except for an extension of the rights of London with regard to payment of tolls beyond the sea, was an exemplification of those charters, and the other a confirmation of Richard's charter for the removal of weirs in the Thames. Apparently these charters did not satisfy the Londoners, for in less than a month (5 July) at Bonneville-sur-Touques in Normandy, John granted a further charter giving them the sheriffwick of London and Middlesex at a farm of £300 a year, with power to make sheriffs whom they would among themselves and amove them at their will. The amount of the farm was, it is said, fixed at £300, because it was in ancient times farmed for that amount. It is curious to notice the reluctance of John to grant the privileges contained in the last charter, although they had been fully exercised for the four previous years. Amongst the witnesses to the charter is Robert Fitz Walter of Castle Baynard, by whose influence it may have been granted, but it was perhaps more likely that the gift of 3000 marks which the citizens made "for the confirmation by the King of their liberties"[58] had a stronger influence upon the royal bounty.

John's quarrels with Philip of France and the Pope occupied all his attention during the earlier years of his reign. These disputes, however, caused the expenditure of large sums from an already depleted treasury, the consequence being the imposition of taxation so high that it became difficult to collect. London suffered equally if not more than the rest of the

[58] Pipe Roll, 2 John (Lond. and Midd.).

country. A tallage was imposed apparently in 1205, and in 1206 William de Wrotham, Archdeacon of Taunton, and Reginald de Cornhill, justices of the King, held an eyre at the Tower[59] at which it appeared that disturbances had occurred with regard to the assessment and collections of this tax. It was a repetition of the outcry of Fitz Osbert ten years before regarding the unfair incidence of the tallage compared to the aid. As a consequence a writ dated 4 February, 1205–6, was issued to the barons of London which recited that it had come to the notice of the King and his justices that the city was much damaged by default of the elders (*superiores*) in the administration of the law and in the assessment and collection of tallages, and in giving information to the King and his justices as to purprestures. Further, that money had been paid by the people of London to certain of the elders for the King's use which had not been delivered to the King. It was therefore ordered that to avoid dissensions which had apparently arisen in the city, the barons by their common counsel and assent (*per commune consilium vestrum et assensum*) should, within fifteen days, cause twenty-four of the more lawful, wise and discreet citizens to be elected before William de Wrotham and Reginald de Cornhill who should see to the better ordering of the city and its restoration to the fealty of the King.[60] There can be no doubt that Wrotham and Cornhill, who were attached to John in many of his arbitrary acts, would see that those elected were subservient to their will. The matter, however, seems to have been compromised and on May 25 following, the barons of London submitted themselves to the King at Porchester and made

[59] Stow, op. cit., i, 50; Pipe Roll, 52 (8 John), m. 6.

[60] *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 64a. Cf. *Finance and Trade under Edw. III* (Manchester Univ. Hist. Ser., XXXII), pp. 13, 18. My attention was kindly drawn to this writ by Prof. Tait. See App. No. III.

payment of £400 by the hands of Constantine Fitz Alulf, Ralf Aswy and Serlo Mercer in part payment of a debt of 2000 marks,[61] the sum apparently assessed on London for a tallage.[62]

Although London played an important part in the disputes between the Crown and the barons, the history of the quarrels belongs to that of the nation rather than the city, and would carry us beyond the limits of this work. The old political divisions still remained, but the aristocratic party favouring the King became smaller and smaller until it was almost negligible. At length the baronial party in London was so strong that an agreement was made that neither the barons of the realm nor the Londoners would make terms with the King without the consent of the other.[63] Robert Fitz Walter, lord of the soke of Castle Baynard, banneret of London, and one of the most prominent men of the day, was appointed to command the army of the barons under the high-sounding title of Marshal of the Army of God and of the Holy Church. He made London his head-quarters, and it so remained throughout the negotiations for the Great Charter. In January, 1215, the barons of the realm who were assembled in London demanded the confirmation of the charter of Henry I. John asked for time until Easter (26 April) to consider the matter, and during this period he was ready to do anything to avoid granting the popular demands. As Easter approached the barons saw no prospect of a decision in their favour and brought their army to Northampton. John asked for an exact statement of their demands, and the barons returned a schedule of articles upon which the Great Charter was based. These articles were emphatically refused.

[61] *Ibid.*, 71. [62] Madox, *Hist. of Exchcq.*, i, 712.
[63] *Annals of Waverley* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 283.

Both sides saw the desirability of obtaining the adherence of London, whose wealth and influence was of the utmost importance. The barons of the realm relied upon the undoubted feeling in their favour, and John thought he could secure the support of the citizens by bribery. On 9 May he granted them the privilege or regularised the practice which the barons of London had probably exercised for some twenty-two years, of electing a mayor from among themselves.[64] By the terms of the charter thus granted, the barons of London were to have the right to elect the mayor yearly and retain him in office if they wished. The mayor so elected was to be presented to the King, or to the justiciar in his absence, and should swear fealty to the King. The charter concludes with a general confirmation of the rights of the barons of London, saving to the King the chamberlainship of London. It is interesting in this connexion to compare a draft of some headings evidently intended for a general charter to the citizens at this date with the charter as granted. These headings deal with the city's rights in the Thames, customs, tallages, the exchange, the walling of the city, and foreign merchants and their debts. But perhaps the most significant heading is one for having a mayor from year to year to be chosen at the folkmote and sworn.[65] This heading points to an attempt to transfer the election of the mayor from the barons at the husting, their select court, to the body of citizens at the folkmote, their popular court at which they

[64] Mr. W. S. McKechnie in *Magna Carta*, p. 34, says that apparently no price was paid for the charter, but on the Pipe Roll for 15 John is a payment of 2000 marks as a gift to the King, which may have reference to this charter.

[65] Mary Bateson, London Municipal Collections, *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 726.

elected the sheriffs. This attempt was probably one of the last efforts of the aristocratic party in London which never reached fruition.

The charter had little influence with the Londoners as regards their adherence to the baronial party. On the day following its delivery John proposed an arbitration, to which the barons of the realm would not listen and marched with their army to London, which they reached on 24 May. The citizens welcomed them, and the strength which the adhesion of London gave them was followed by a great defection from the King's party. The lead of London was not only followed by other towns but by the magnates of the realm, who had hitherto been hesitating how they should give their support. John saw that his cause was hopeless, and on 8 June entered upon negotiations with the barons of the realm who went to him from London and encamped at Runnymede. The Articles were then presented to him, and on 15 June he set his seal to the Great Charter at Runnymede. By the terms of the charter the barons obtained the custody of London and the Tower, and Robert Fitz Walter and the mayor were amongst those who were to see the terms of the charter duly carried out.

So far as the charter directly affected London the existing liberties of the city were confirmed under Chapter XIII, whereby the city of London was to have all its ancient liberties and free customs as well by land as by water, but the citizens received no additional privileges, which they might well have expected for the support that they had given to the baronial cause. It is even suggested by Mr. McKechnie[66] that the barons sacrificed the interests of London to the insistence of John, and that whereas under the thirty-second article of the

[66] Mr. Sharpe McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, 117.

Articles previously submitted by the barons, London was to receive relief as regards both "tallage and aids," under the charter itself (Chapter XII) it obtained relief in respect of aids only.[67] Prof. G. B. Adams, on the other hand, suggests that the omission of tallage in the relief clause implies that the citizens had been raised to the position of crown vassals, and thus the King recognised London as a commune in the strict sense. He points out further that on the reissue of the charter in 1216, after the death of John, clause XII being omitted, "London's legal right to a commune fell to the ground."[68]

As we have already seen, Londoners had been obtaining their independence bit by bit. In the time of Henry I and Stephen their desire was to have a commune in all its fulness. Although their efforts to wrest all they wanted from the Crown were unsuccessful, they were able from time to time as opportunities occurred to procure one concession after another, until at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century their outstanding claim centred round the important question of taxation. It became a fight for tallages or aids. London had, we know, from time to time been subject to both forms of taxation. The disturbances

[67] Aids were in the nature of freewill offerings which the citizens could name, and if the amount were approved they could assess and collect themselves as they pleased; but tallages were exactions imposed upon all tenants, servile or otherwise, on the royal demesnes, of which towns possessing royal charters were considered to form a part, and assessed by the King's justices *per capita* on individual citizens and collected by the King's officers.

[68] *London and the Commune*, by Geo. B. Adams, *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xix (Oct., 1904), p. 702–6. M. Petit-Dutaillis (p. 104–5) criticises this view and states that the Londoners never dreamed of asserting that they constituted a commune; that because of this they owed nothing but a feudal aid, and that there is nothing of the kind in the text of the Charter. Mr. Adams' argument therefore he claims will not hold water.

already referred to as having taken place in 1194–5[69] and 1206[70] were caused apparently by the assessment and collection of tallages. A tallage of 2000 marks was levied upon it in 1214–15[71] and the Pipe Rolls give evidence of the numerous aids to which it was liable. Although the right to be subject only to aids increased the dignity of the city and gave the citizens the privilege of agreeing the sum to be raised, yet these advantages had to be paid for mainly by the wealthy burgher class, the tax being assessed and collected by the aldermen according to the capacities of those taxed, and not, as in the case of a tallage, levied at a rate *per capita* on rich and poor alike and collected by an officer of the Crown. The tallage therefore was more favourable to the rich than to the poor, and its inequitable incidence was probably the cause of the Fitz Osbert riots when the outcry was that the poor were taxed more heavily than the rich. The demands of the Crown, however, had to be met whether by aids or tallages, and although the former were nominally voluntary and the latter compulsory the freedom of the one and arbitrariness of the other had become limited. Consequently as the leading citizens found that tallages were less burdensome to them than aids, they were probably not particularly anxious for them to be superseded as the full privileges of the commune would require. In the headings for a charter attributed by Miss Bateson to 1215, already referred to, there is one for the withdrawal of all tallages except those imposed by the common consent of the kingdom and city.[72] No attention, however, was paid to this proposal in the charter which John granted to the city shortly

[69] See account of Fitz Osbert's riots, p. 117.
[70] *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 64a. See p. 120.
[71] Madox, *Hist. of Excheq.*, i, 712.
[72] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 726.

afterwards. Again, in the thirty-second article of the *Articuli Baronum* it was once more proposed that no tallage nor aid should be placed on London except by the common council of the realm, but in Magna Carta itself relief is given from aids only. It is clear that the demand for exemption from tallage either received strong opposition from the Crown or was pressed only with lukewarmness by the Londoners, for the claims of London for recompense at this time were very strong and could not have been withheld if forcibly urged. The question remained in dispute until 1255, when it was finally determined at law and the city was obliged to withdraw its claim to exemption and confess itself a domain town.[73]

The Londoners perhaps never acquired a full *seigneurie collective populaire* such as existed in France and elsewhere on the Continent, but it obtained a form of municipal independence suitable to its development whether under the name of a commune or not.[74] No doubt the growing democratic feeling which is shown by the riots led by Fitz Osbert in 1194–5, followed by those in 1205–6, influenced the lines of development of the municipality. It must be remembered also that the commune was foreign to this country, and unless granted by charter as a new constitution, as it was to continental cities, it would be difficult to fit it, in its entirety, into a constitution which had grown up gradually during centuries of slow development. Richard and John merely tolerated it as a matter of expediency for their personal and temporary ends, and it was never fully acknowledged by any charter.

[73] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xix, 706.

[74] Cf. Petit-Dutaillis, op. cit., 106. On this point M. Petit-Dutaillis says: "Without doubt we attach too much importance to words which we have made technical terms for the convenience of our historical studies."

CHAPTER IV

THE SOKES

THE sokes of London[1]—the districts over which private jurisdictions were exercised—were of gradual growth. When the King wished to develop the forests and marshes and other waste places of his kingdom he granted tracts of such lands to powerful laymen and ecclesiastics, the capitalists of early days, that they might clear or drain them and bring them under cultivation. The endowments of many of our great monasteries were of this nature: Ely, Peterborough and Croyland thus had great districts of the fen-land; Canterbury had the Romney Marshes; Worcester, Pershore and Westminster had the forests of Worcestershire; St. Albans, Westminster and Ely had the forests of Western Hertfordshire and Middlesex, and so on. There was no doubt an implied obligation to develop the lands, which naturally included the maintenance of law and order; for a grant from the Crown in the ninth and tenth centuries usually carried jurisdiction "as a matter of common form."[2] It is doubtful, however, whether there was any acknowledgment of specific rights of jurisdiction until the tenth or eleventh century.

The early development of London was carried out in a

[1] This chapter is based upon an article on The Early Development of London by the author, which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for June, 1920, pp. 1042–56.

[2] Maitland, *Domesday Bk. and Beyond*, 282.

manner somewhat similar to this. The system there used was in more recent times adopted for the purpose of colonisation, grantees brought settlers from their lands elsewhere in this country and abroad; and this is probably a reason for finding at a later date parcels of land in London attached to manors far away in the country. The system was particularly adapted for the establishing of trading communities in which complicated and diverse interests could be guarded and organized.

The centre of the trade and traffic of London lay at the Bridge, on either side of which were the wharves for overseas trade, and just inland was the market of Eastcheap. It was the lands surrounding this area that were still largely agricultural even in the tenth century, which Alfred and other kings proposed to develop.[3] A clear space would have to be left on each side of the wall; on the outside in the suburb to prevent cover and concealment for an enemy, and on the inside for the manœuvring of troops and their easy transfer from one spot to another. The greater part of this open land on the west side of the Walbrook[4] had apparently been in the hands of the King and the community at St. Paul's since the foundation of the East Saxon kingdom and bishopric. There is ample evidence from the Chronicles and other sources that Saxon and Danish kings resided from time to time in London. The King's hall in London is referred to in the laws of Hlothhere and Eadric (680–5),[5] and there was a tradition recorded in the thirteenth century by Matthew Paris that the church of St. Alban, Wood Street, had been the chapel of Offa's

[3] Thorpe, *Anct. Laws and Inst.* (Rec. Com.), 97; Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i, 3n.

[4] The lands at Vintry and inland had by Alfred's time probably been settled by the burgesses.

[5] Thorpe, *Anct. Laws and Inst.* (Rec. Com.), p. 16.

palace.[6] Newcourt goes further and asserts that the royal house was east of St. Alban's Church with a door into "Adelstreet,"[7] which is said to take its name from Atheling, while Gutter Lane near by, formerly called Guthron Lane, preserve the name of Guthrum, to whom London was assigned in 878. Moreover, we have the legend of the time of Henry VIII that some "old ruinous houses and ground in Aldermanbury" which were then being cleared were "sometime the place (palace) of St. Ethelbert King, founder of St. Paul's."[8] Although it is unlikely that the buildings referred to were actually built in the time of Ethelbert, King of Kent, who founded the bishopric of London in 604, yet it is highly probable that they were on the site of his residence and that which formed the royal dwelling in London for the next four and a half centuries. That the King's house should adjoin the cathedral further strengthens the argument, for the practice of establishing the bishop's church, his house and community of priests near the King's palace, can be traced in almost all ancient episcopal cities in this country and abroad.[9]

When Alfred began his scheme for the development of London, St. Paul's was in possession of the block of land of the width of the precincts as they now are and extending from Westcheap to the Thames, leaving a space between its lands and the wall on the west. The land northward of Westcheap probably formed the demesne of the King's residence. Of the lands to the east of the Walbrook surrounding the central part of the city, the Bishop of London probably held the portion from the Walbrook to St. Mary Axe; and the

[6] *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i, 55.

[7] *Repertorium*, i, 236. Newcourt gives no authority, but his assertion s borne out by later evidence. See p. 142.

[8] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 44a. [9] See Appendix No. II.

section further east, which was the most vulnerable part of the city, Alfred probably kept in his own hands to be utilised for military purposes. Outside the wall was an undefined district or suburb over which it would seem the owners of the lands adjoining within had rights, if not ownership. Thus all the suburb on the west and north from the river to the Walbrook was at this time in the hands of the King. From the Walbrook eastward the Bishop held the suburb, as far as his lands extended within the walls, as part probably of the twenty-four hides of land, free from all gelds and customs, which William the Conqueror confirmed to St. Paul's and are described as near the wall of the city and of the gift of King Ethelbert.[10] Eastward of the Bishop's soke the suburb was, with the lands within the wall, in Alfred's time, probably in the hands of the Crown.

Such was, we may imagine, approximately the condition of London when Alfred took possession of it in 883. As already stated, he began to develop London by granting out blocks of more or less vacant land between the central settlement and the walls. The desire of all the grantees, both then and at a later date, was to have access to one or other of the two great markets and to wharfage on the Thames, one or both of which privileges, it will be noticed, went with almost every London soke. Towards carrying out his scheme for the development of London, Alfred apparently gave to Ethelred, husband of Ethelfleda his daughter, the lands extending eastward from the property of St. Paul's, later known as the soke of St. Bennet, to the Walbrook,[11] with the valuable

[10] *Cartae Antiquae*, A, No. 2.

[11] That Ethelredshithe or Queenhithe originally extended to the western boundary of the ward is shown by the grants to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Worcester of lands on the west of Ethelredshithe,

frontage on the Thames and going back probably to the present line of Knightrider Street, Great Trinity Lane, Great St. Thomas the Apostle and Cloak Lane. Here Ethelred began to develop the district by building the dock, called after him Ethelredshithe or Edredshythe, which survives as Queenhithe, a name it acquired when given to Matilda queen of Henry I. The further development of this district soon followed. In 899 King Alfred held a council at Chelsea for the restoration of London at which were present Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, Werefrid, Bishop of Worcester, and Ethelred, Duke of Mercia. The condition of Ethelredshithe was apparently considered, and the eastern part of it, with the consent of Ethelred and Ethelfleda, was divided between the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Worcester. The piece of land granted was probably of the width of the parish of St. Mary Somerset and in length from Knightrider Street to the river. It is described as two *jugera*, divided from one another by a lane running up from the Thames; the western part was granted to Canterbury and the eastern to Worcester. Each plot extended from the Roman wall on the Thames front, then standing, and each grantee was to have mooring for ships on the Thames bank outside the wall as far as his land extended within the wall.[12] Much importance cannot be attached to the use of the word "jugerum," an area equal to 240 square feet.[13] It is here apparently used merely to indicate a piece of land of uncertain size. Although it is clear that the transcript of this charter which alone exists, is inac-

hereafter referred to, and to the Walbrook by the fact that rights of the soke of Queenhithe extended from Dowgate and Vintry to the soke of the Archbishop of Canterbury. *Liber Albus* (Rolls Ser.), i, 240–1.

[12] Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, v, mlxxiv, p. 141.

[13] Seebohm, *English Village Community*, 387.

curate, there is no need to discard it as entirely untrustworthy. It probably gives the effect of a true grant and represents the conditions at the time at which the gift was made. We know that the Archbishop of Canterbury for long afterwards had a soke here, and although we lose sight of a definite holding by Worcester, the Bishop had a soke in London[13a] and continued to receive rents from lands in the neighbourhood.

It would seem that Alfred granted the land of "Weremannesaker" on the east side of the bridgehead to another daughter, Ælfthryth, or in the Latinised form of her name, Elstrudis, wife of Baldwin the second, Count of Flanders.

The position of Weremansacre has been the cause of much speculation, but some deeds of the twelfth century belonging to the New Hospital of St. Mary outside Bishopsgate enable us to give it with some certainty. One of these deeds refers to land in Blanchappleton in the parish of All Hallows Staining, which had a northern boundary along Fenchurch Street; it is described as being in the fee of Strodes and paying rent to that fee. Another deed relates to land in the parish of St. Gabriel, Fenchurch Street, immediately to the west of All Hallows, which was also bounded on the north by Fenchurch Street; and adjoining the last-mentioned land on the east other land is described as parcel of the soke of "Waremanshaker," and as paying a rent to the church of St. Peter of Ghent.[14] Thus the position of the northern part of Weremansacre is clearly fixed, and as wharfage and landing rights were, as we shall see, granted with the soke, it must have extended southward to the Thames. If further we can identify the fee of Strodes with that of Alfred's daughter Elstrudis or

[13a] Harl. MS. 43 I., 35.
[14] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vii, 624.

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SKETCH MAP OF LONDON SHOWING SUGGESTED POSITIONS OF SOKES, *c.* 1150.

Ælfthryth, we have, apparently, in Blanchappleton a portion of the land of the Counts of Flanders.

The early history of the soke in very obscure. It appears that in 918 Ælfthryth with her sons Arnulf and Adelolf granted Lewisham, Greenwich and Woolwich to the monastery of St. Peter of Ghent, which grant, as will be shown, probably included a part of Weremansacre. It is possible that there were strained relations between King Edwy and his kinsman Arnulf of Flanders in the middle of the tenth century, when Dunstan took refuge at the church of St. Peter of Ghent. The lands of St. Peter were apparently at this time seized, and perhaps Arnulf's soke of Wermansacre was also taken into the King's hands; the English possessions of the monastery were, however, returned by Edgar in 964 at the prayer of Dunstan, but those of the Count of Flanders, including perhaps "Weremansacre," were probably retained. On the accession of Cnut, Flanders being again the refuge for disaffected Englishmen and therefore unfriendly to the Danish king, the possessions of St. Peter of Ghent in England were once more seized. Edward, who was at the time living in the monastery of Ghent, promised in 1016 that if he ever ascended his father's throne he would make restoration to the abbey.[15] After his accession he fulfilled his promise by the gift of a charter dated 1044, whereby he confirmed the monastery's lands in Kent and added a part of the land in London which was called "Werman Echer" with the wharf pertaining to it.[16] This is the first mention we have of Weremansacre. William the Conqueror gave a very full confirmation in 1081 elaborat-

[15] The early history of the lands of St. Peter of Ghent is shown in Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, pp. 500–3.

[16] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vii, 988.

ing the grant of the portion of " Waremanni Acra " given by Edward, with which were included its wharf, market rights, stalls and shops and the right of all merchants to land " in the soke of St. Peter " and use the stalls and wharf. Thus far it would seem that Ghent's part of Weremansacre was obtained by the gift of Edward.[17] A confirmation charter of Henry the First (1103–9), however, describes the land of Weremansacre in London as " belonging to Greenwich," a description which appears in subsequent documents.[18] This statement, taken with the evidence of the fee of Strodes or Elstrudis, suggests that the western part of Weremansacre may have been included in the grant of Greenwich by Ælfthryth to Ghent in 918.

It would seem probable that Weremansacre originally included the soke of Aldgate, and comprised the area later occupied by Tower ward and Aldgate ward. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that the Portsoken, which was granted, possibly by Edgar, to the Cnihtengild, extended along that part of the wall upon which the sokes of Weremansacre and Aldgate both adjoined inside, and it was customary for rights over the lands outside the walls to pass with lands immediately adjoining inside ; it may also be seen from the scanty evidence available that the early descents of the two sokes seem to be similar. The sections of the wall upon which these sokes abutted would be those upon which attacks would be most frequent, and with this in view it is probable that these sokes would be placed in the hands of some military authority. This theory is perhaps supported by

[17] Round, op. cit.

[18] *Rotuli Chartarum* (Rec. Com.), John, pt. i, p. 184 ; Charter Rolls, 13 Hen. III, m. 9.

the name Weremansacre or Warmansacre which may possibly be interpreted as the warriors' or soldiers' land.[19] During the troublous times of the last quarter of the tenth century and the first few years of the eleventh century Weremansacre, including Aldgate and Portsoken, may have been held by the Cnihtengild. The military organization of London at this time was so perfect that it was able to defy the continued assaults of the Danes and Norsemen, hence it might well be that this most important military position was in the hands of "cnihts" or military commanders. Cnut seems to have confirmed the Portsoken to the Cnihtengild,[20] and it may be suggested that he granted the whole of Weremansacre, including Aldgate and the lands of St. Peter of Ghent then seized into his hands, to his favourite minister, Tofig the Proud, who was apparently a staller of London, an office that was mainly military in character and therefore one to which Weremansacre may well have been attached. Tofig, who lived at Waltham, attached Aldgate and the land adjoining it to his manor of Waltham and built a church at Waltham for the reception of the miraculous cross found at Montacute in the county of Somerset. It was possibly he who thus created the separate soke of Aldgate. His son Athelstan forfeited his property, except that of the stallership, at the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confessor, which may have enabled Edward the Confessor to grant, or rather perhaps re-grant, the western

[19] The name Warmansacre or Weremannesacre is corrupt so that it is difficult to draw any conclusion as to its origin. Mr. W. H. Stevenson, M.A., thinks this interpretation of Warrior's Acre unlikely, as Weremannesacre has the genitive singular termination "es" which was not extended to the plural until late Middle English times, and "war" is a loan word from the Norman "werre" or French "guerre" occurring in the early part of the twelfth century. He thinks it is from an English personal name.

[20] *Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, v, 481.

part of Weremansacre to the monastery of St. Peter of Ghent in 1044. The manor of Waltham, to which Aldgate was attached, was given to Harold, who founded there the priory of Waltham in 1060.[21] The western part of Weremansacre anciently belonged perhaps to St. Peter of Ghent, but the eastern or main part of the soke was possibly parcel of the possessions of the stallership of London and so would pass to Athelstan's son Ansgar, who appears as staller of London at this time. Geoffrey de Mandeville was the Norman successor to all the possessions of Ansgar, including the office of staller; and Blanchappleton, a part of Weremansacre, as will be shown later, can be traced as a part of his fee.

No doubt the policy of Alfred for the development of London was followed by his descendants, but we have no knowledge of further development until the time of his great-grandson Edgar (957–75), who, we know, endeavoured to advance the foreign trade of London. He probably established the wine merchants of Rouen at their settlement later called the Vintry, on the west side of Dowgate, and on the last he placed the merchants of Cologne, later known as the Hanse merchants, who imported their Rhine wines and other commodities at their house which became the Steelyard. These communities received many trade privileges, and by the time of Edward the Confessor the merchants of Rouen had built a dock or port on the west side of Dowgate, and in it they had the right to order the removal of any ship after a flood and an ebb; if their order was not obeyed they might cut the mooring ropes and set the ship adrift without any liability for damage.[22] In the time of King Ethelred II (978–

[21] Fran. Michel, op. cit., ii, 227.
[22] Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, 34, 35.

1016) the men of Flanders and Ponthieu traded to London and probably brought their goods to the wharf of the soke of St. Peter of Ghent at Weremansacre.[23] Among the Danish settlements was one at a riverside dock in the parish of St. Mary Somerset called Daneburghgate.[24] But the Danes were becoming absorbed into the population of London so that their separate settlements are few. A Christian Dane of the eleventh century might build a church and choose the dedication of St. Olave or other Norse saint, but such a choice did not imply that the church was for the use of a Danish settlement surrounding it, any more than it would be if a Scotchman built a church and chose the dedication of St. Andrew.

It is probable there was a fort on the western side of London. It is recorded by somewhat doubtful evidence that Cnut spent Christmas there in 1017, where he caused Edric of Mercia to be put to death.[25] Possibly Edric held this fort and the soke attached to it, as Earl of Mercia, and after his death it was possibly granted to Osgod Clapa, a staller.[26] This fort was apparently rebuilt by Ralf Baynard, a follower of William the Conqueror, and from him was called Castle Baynard. Ralf was sheriff of Essex, and had a considerable fief in that county with Little Dunmo was his seat. Castle-guard to Castle Baynard was due from Little Baddow[27] and Mowden-in-Ulting[28] in Essex and Hadestone, Merton[29] and Riston[30] in Norfolk. The soke of

[23] Thorpe, *Anct. Laws and Inst.*, i, 127.

[24] Missenden Chartulary, Harl. MS. 3688, fol. 152–3; *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), pp. 418, 433. I am indebted to Mr. C. Vellacott for these references.

[25] Rich. de Cirencester, *Speculum Historiale* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 172; Matth. Paris, *Chron. Majora*, i, 500.

[26] See post.

[27] *Cal. of Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vol. vi, p. 19; Edw. III, vol. vii, p. 318; vol. viii, p. 482.

[28] *Ibid.*, Edw. I, vol. iv, p. 98.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

[30] *Ibid.*, Edw. II, vol. iv, p. 393.

the castle was coterminous with the parish of St. Andrew.[31] Its privileges are referred to later. Ralf's son Geoffrey was succeeded by his son William, who forfeited his lands early in the reign of Henry I for his part in the rebellion of the Count of Maine. Castle Baynard was for a time, between 1100 and 1106, in the hands of Henry I, who granted a part of the ditch of the castle to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's in order that they might build a precinct wall there.[32] It was afterwards held for a short time by Eustace Count of Boulogne, who was holding it in 1106.[33] Later in the reign of Henry I it passed to Robert, said to be a younger son of Richard Fitz Gilbert, steward of that sovereign; and his widow Maud, daughter of Simon de St. Liz, dealt with lands in London held in dower, with the consent of her son Walter.[34] Robert's grandson Robert Fitz Walter was the well-known marshal of the Baronial army, and for his opposition to John, Castle Baynard was destroyed in 1213. By licence of Edward I, Robert Fitz Walter sold the site of the castle to Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury,[35] and in 1276 it was acquired by the Black Friars who built their monastery upon it.[36] The little castle or tower of Montfichet beside Castle Baynard which belonged to the Montfichets suffered the same fate and for the same reason.

The principal development of the sokes of London was during the Conquest period. The prosperity of the city as a trading centre was rapidly growing during the eleventh century, and

[31] *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 472.
[32] *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 339–40.
[33] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 49a.
[34] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 485; Harl. MS. 55 G., 9.
[35] *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 459.
[36] *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), vol. i, pp. 9, 15, 87, 88.

the demand for land and consequently its value were increasing; hence the early sokes were subdivided and new fiefs created. The abandonment by Edward the Confessor of the royal residence in the north-west quarter of London in favour of his new palace at Westminster, probably about 1060, released a large area for development and division into new sokes. The royal residence, we are told, was neglected and encroachments were made upon it by the citizens so that it became much reduced in size, although the ancient liberties of the site were maintained.[37] It seems clear that the King's Bury became the Alderman's Bury, but it is difficult to decide who the alderman was from whom it took its new name. The evidence points to the transfer having taken place before the date at which the aldermen of the wards, so far as we know, were appointed; and therefore we can only conjecture that he was the alderman of the Frith Gild of the city.[38] Within his soke, it may plausibly be suggested, he built the hall of his gild almost on the site where its successor still stands. The earliest references as yet discovered to the soke of Aldermanbury and the Gildhall is about 1130, but they are merely incidental and give no indication as to the owner of the property; nor do they preclude the supposition of an earlier existence. The fate of the Frith Gild and its aldermen is not known, probably it was dissolved like the Cnihten Gild,[39] being out of keeping with the ideas of the time, and its hall voluntarily surrendered to the municipal authority to be referred to later.

[37] *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i, 55; Matth. Paris, *Vitae S. Albani Abbat.* (ed. Watts), p. 50.

[38] Cf. Green, *The Conquest of England*, pp. 460, 462. Green did not recognise that Aldermanbury was the site of the King's residence.

[39] For the history of the frith gild and cnihten gild see Chapter VII.

About 1136–8 we have mention of Reiner de Aldermanbury[40] who received, probably early in the reign of Henry II, a royal confirmation of liberties over his lands in the city of London, including soc and sac and thol and theam, freedom from soc and geld, tallages, aids of all sheriffs and all their ministers and of shires and hundreds, suits, assizes, and exemption from being put in plea of any land or tenure except it be against the King or his chief justice.[41] Reiner had two sons, Simon and John (known as John de London), and probably a third named Alan. Simon, who inherited the soke, married Margaret, daughter of Baldwin Crisp, served as sheriff in 1201 and died about 1204. As in settling his property he made provision only for the life interest of his wife,[42] it may be inferred that he died childless; and as Gervase, son of Alan de Aldermanbury, probably his nephew, obtained a confirmation of liberties in Aldermanbury from Richard I, he must have entered into possession in the lifetime of Simon.[43] Gervase, who was chamberlain of London from 1196 to 1199, married about 1205 Agnes, daughter of Roger de Somery, the divorced wife of Hamo de Valoynes.[44] About 1246 Gervase and his sons Gervase and Alan conveyed to Adam de Basing the house in Aldermanbury with the lands attached and the advowsons of the churches of St. Mary Aldermanbury, St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street, and St. Michael Bassis-Haw, which are later described as appurtenant to the same house, thus indicating perhaps by the areas of their parishes the extent of the soke. Basing received a confirmation of all the liberties which were

[40] *Cat. of Anct. Deeds*, iv, A 7309; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 67.
[41] *Cartae Antiquae*, Hen. III, L. No. 13.
[42] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 9a; *Rot. Cancellarii* (Rec. Com.), p. 99
[43] *Cartae Antiq.*, L. 13.
[44] *Bracton's Note-Bk.* (ed. Maitland), No. 550, 1001.

attached to the soke.[45] The old house of Aldermanbury, the site probably of the King's residence, apparently stood near the church of St. Mary Aldermanbury on the west side of the street called Aldermanbury with an entrance from Wood Street. Adam de Basing built a new house on the east side of Aldermanbury which ran through into Basinghall Street, to which his house or hall gave the name. It is evident he endeavoured to unite the two houses by blocking Aldermanbury, for which obstruction he and his sons were time after time presented.[46]

The exact position of the soke of the Earl of Gloucester is not very certain, but there was a soke in the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry that, from its position, was apparently carved out of the soke of Aldermanbury which may be identified as having belonged to the Clares. The first reference to the soke of the Earl of Gloucester is in the survey of the lands of St. Paul's about 1130,[47] and we may perhaps assign the date of its creation into a separate soke to about 1121, when Henry I made Robert, his illegitimate son, Earl of Gloucester[48] and possibly endowed him with this soke. On the death of Robert's son William in 1183 his property passed to his daughter Amice, wife of Richard de Clare. The soke in the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry was in the hands of the Abbey of St. Sauve and St. Wynewall of Montreuil about 1189,[49] when it became known as the soke of St. Wynewall.[50] The Clares

[45] *Cartae Antiq.*, L. 13.

[46] *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), i, 403 *et seq.*

[47] Price, *Description of the Gildhall*, p. 16.

[48] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, pp. 432–4.

[49] The Earls of Gloucester, however, still had a soke in London in 1275. *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), p. 405; and in 1307, Riley, *Pleadings in Parl.*, p. 371.

[50] Price, *Description of Gildhall*, p. 40; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, iv, 449 *et seq.*

founded a cell of Montreuil at Wereham in Norfolk, and this soke may have been a part of the endowment. It eventually passed to Balliol College, Oxford.[51]

Of the other sokes which came into existence by the abandonment of the King's residence, that of the monastery of St. Martin le Grand originated by the purchase from the Crown by Ingelric and Eirard or Edward his brother of land here whereon they founded the monastery about 1056. Ingelric was one of those successful clerks in the households of King Edward and the Conqueror who amassed great wealth and influence.[52] Like all such clerks he took minor orders early in life, and after founding St. Martin's he was ordained priest and became the first dean of that monastery but retained his official position as King's clerk.[53] This soke, known as Aldersgate Soke,[54] approximately covered what was later Aldersgate Ward. The monastery became the "caput" of Ingelric's great fief in Essex,[55] and when his lands passed after the Conquest to Eustace of Boulogne the courts of the Honour of Boulogne were held at St. Martin's.[56] Ingelric attested two charters in 1069,[57] and then we lose sight of him, possibly he became implicated in one of the many risings which marked this unsettled period; all we know is that in 1087 his lands were held by Count Eustace.

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] Charter Roll, 2 Edw. II, No. 4; Pat. Roll, 1 Hen. IV, pt. 13, m. 4; see the paper on William's charter in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xi, 738, by W. H. Stevenson, and note thereon by J. H. Round in *ibid.*, xii, 105. The monastery has a fabulous history, but this is the story given in William's charter of 1068, only a few years after the events recorded.

[53] Round, *Commune of London*, p. 28 *et seq.*

[54] Mun. of Dean and Chapter of Westminster, London, B. Box 2 (1).

[55] *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 341–3.

[56] *Cal. of Inq. P.M.*, Edw. I, vol. ii, pp. 38, 359, 386; Edw. II, vol. v, p. 282.

[57] Round, *Commune of London*, 36.

William I at Christmas, 1067,[58] augmented the endowment of the monastery of St. Martin's by the grant of the extra mural soke of Cripplegate, the north-eastern portion of the suburb which surrounded the King's lands within the walls. The soke extended from the Walbrook to the River of Wells (Rivulus Foncium), a line which was probably marked by the boundary, afterwards used for Aldersgate Ward, which may have followed the course of a small stream here, but the slope of the land falling westward to the Fleet or Holborn would not permit of a watercourse much larger than a ditch.[59]

The most important soke created out of the lands of the King's residence next to Aldermanbury was that of the King of Scotland, which corresponded approximately in area to what became the Ward of Farringdon Within. It was attached to the Honour of Huntingdon, and may have been granted to Earl Waltheof when he married Judith the Conqueror's niece in 1070. David, King of Scotland, who was married to Maud, daughter of Waltheof and Judith, was holding the soke in the early part of the twelfth century, and a writ addressed to his soke-reeve there (1108–24) is still extant.[60] On the forfeiture of William the Lion of Scotland in 1174 the soke went with the Honour of Huntingdon to Simon St. Liz, grandson of Simon St. Liz, first husband of Maud, daughter of Waltheof. The younger Simon gave the soke to Roger Fitz Reinfred, probably the well-known justice of Henry II, and his grant was confirmed by the King as the soke of the Honour of Huntingdon in London.[61] Although, as we shall see later, this grant may have given rise to the claim of the Arderns to the hereditary

[58] As to the date of this charter see Round, *Commune of London*, 34.
[59] See *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xi, 738 *et seq.*
[60] *Cal. of Doc. Scotland*, i, p. 1.
[61] Harl. Charters, 43, C. 26.

aldermanry of Newgate or Farringdon, the soke appears to have reverted to the honour, which was conveyed by William the Lion of Scotland to his brother David. There are references to the soke of the King of Scotland in 1228 and 1275.[62] It passed in the same way as Tottenham, and eventually, like that manor, became divided among the representatives of the three sisters of John le Scot. The Balliol lands in Middlesex were granted in 1307 to John de Britannia, Earl of Richmond,[63] who took as the Balliols' share of the soke the north-eastern portion, where he had a great house at the north end of Ivy Lane, which was subsequently called Lovel's Inn. He built the nave of the church of the Grey Friars which stood within his portion of the soke. The Bruce third, which we must place in the parish of St. Owen, seems to have continued in the hands of the Crown. The remaining part of the soke, belonging to the Hastings family, was in the parish of St. Martin the Less or Ludgate, where their house, known as Pembroke or Bergavenny Inn from the titles they later acquired, stood at the north end of Ave Maria Lane.[64]

The other sokes carved out of the lands of the King's residence are less important and more obscure. The Bishop of Ely had a soke in Gutter Lane, formerly Godrunne or Guthrum Lane, where he had a soke-reeve.[65] Adjoining it was the fee of the abbots of St. Albans in Wood Street, which

[62] *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (Camden Soc.), xxxiv, 243; *Hund. Rolls* (Rec. Com.), 405.

[63] Charter Roll, 1 Edw. II, m. 13, No. 45.

[64] Stow, *Surv. of London* (ed. Kingsford), i, 339, 343; ii, 350, 388; Riley, *Memorials of London*, 98; Sharpe, *Cal. to Letter-Bk. D.*, 291; *ibid.* G., 132. Stow has confused the two houses. There is nothing to substantiate his statement that Britannia held Pembroke Inn.

[65] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 21b; Norman Moore, *Hist. of St. Barts*, i, 214, 300–1; *Cat. Anct. Deeds*, iv, A 7843, v, A. 11681.

probably originated with the grant from the Crown to St. Alban's Abbey of the church of St. Alban, Wood Street, at the end of the eleventh century. The fee, which was later conveyed to Westminster,[66] apparently included in area the land on either side of Wood Street from the northern boundary of the parish of St. Alban to Westcheap.[67]

The three remaining fees formed out of the King's lands which may be considered sokes are Lothbury, Bocointe and Bucklersbury, but unfortunately we have little definite information of any of them. Albert of Lorraine (Loteringus, Lothariensis, Lotharingius), a Domesday tenant in Bedfordshire and other counties, held land in London in " the ward of Haco " according to the survey of St. Paul's lands of about 1130.[68] Haco's ward appears to have been that of Coleman Street in which Lothbury is situated, and it seems probable that Albert gave his name to the fee.[69] Albert, like Ingelric, the founder of St. Martin's, was a king's clerk who prospered under Edward and William, and in 1087 was holding considerable estates in Herefordshire, Bedfordshire, Middlesex, Rutland, Surrey and perhaps Kent.[70] Unlike Ingelric, he apparently remained in minor orders and did not forfeit his lands. It is probable that he married and passed on his possessions to his descendants. Three out of his four Bedfordshire manors passed to the Loring (le Lohereng, le Lotaring)

[66] *Gesta Abb. S. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i, 55.

[67] *Cat. Anct. Deeds*, A 2124, Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 118, 141; Stow MS. 942, fol. 138; *Tax. Pope Nich.* (Rec. Com.), 11; *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 463.

[68] Price, *Gildhall*, p. 16; Round, *Commune of London*, 36–7.

[69] C. L. Kingsford in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xxiv, 137. Loftie's identification of the Ward of Haco with Broad Street Ward is probably incorrect.

[70] Round, *Commune of London*, 36–38. He was possibly one of the Lotharingians encouraged and promoted by the house of Godwin; Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, ii, 80.

family and a messuage and land in the parishes of St. Lawrence Jewry and St. Mary Aldermanbury near to, if not part of the fee of Lothbury, were conveyed by Walter Loring, nephew of Robert Fitz Walter, lord of Baynard Castle, and his brother Peter Fitz Walter, the sheriff, to King Richard's celebrated chancellor William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, and about 1190 sold by him for the large sum for those days of £90 to Geoffrey Blund.[71] It is possible the vendor, Walter Loring (Loereyng), was the abbot of Malmesbury of that name who died in 1222 and was commemorated for his munificence to the abbey. Lothbury seems to have become divided at an early date, and Walter de Loring's holding was only a portion of it, while the Bocointe fee in the parish of St. Mildred Poultry may have formed another part.

The origin of Bucklersbury is difficult to trace. Geoffrey Buckerel, apparently an Italian financier, was sheriff in 1130,[72] and was possibly an ancestor of Andrew, son of Stephen Buckerel and Sabella his wife, who was sheriff in 1173–4. Andrew appears to have died on a pilgrimage, and his widow Idonea sold his soke in London, possibly at Bucklersbury, to Hasculf de Tania about 1183.[73]

With the sokes thus enumerated, all the lands which became ripe for development by the abandonment of the King's residence have been accounted for, except some of those in the parish of St. Olave, Old Jewry, and its chapelry of St. Stephen, Coleman Street. The King kept the Jewry in his own hands, and the lands of the chapelry of St. Stephen were probably marsh owing to the overflow of the Walbrook.

[71] Round, *Commune of London*, 253.
[72] *Rot. Magn. Pipae*, 31 Hen. I (Rec. Com.), 145.
[73] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxxiv, 221.

Southward of Cheapside, on this side of the Walbrook, was the soke of St. Saviour's, Bermondsey, in the parish of St. Nicholas Cold Abbey. This soke represents perhaps the twelve burgesses in London that according to the Domesday Survey belonged to Bermondsey manor, which in the twelfth century passed to St. Saviour's Priory.[74] Chertsey Abbey had a soke near the church of St. Nicholas Olave, and not far off was the manor of the Montalts, afterwards of the Bishops of Hereford, in the parish of St. Mary Mounthaw. Possibly these were subinfeudations by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Worcester from their sokes. In or near to Queenhithe Hasculf de Tania had a soke in addition to that already mentioned, much of the land of which was held by Richard de Umfraville. Richard granted his holding to Geoffrey Blund, whose wife Ida was Richard's daughter or sister.[75] Gilbert de Toeni held another small soke here.[76]

The positions of the two important fiefs of Peverel of London and Peverel of Nottingham are not known, but the fact that the church of St. Martin, Vintry, with lands adjoining, belonged to Ranulf Peverel of London,[77] and the soke of Peverel of Nottingham passed to Richard Fitz Reiner, some of whose property was situated in Vintry and Queenhithe Wards,[78] suggests that the two Peverel sokes were there. The Honour of Peverel of London must, from its distinctive title,

[74] Norman Moore, *Hist. of St. Barts.*, i, 405; *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), p. 453; *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 405; *V.C.H. Surrey*, i, 296b; iv, 19. Southwark held part of the Bishop of Worcester's soke. Harl. MS 43, I, 35.

[75] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxxiv, 221; *Cat. of Anct. Deeds*, A. 6128.

[76] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 484

[77] *Hist. and Cart. Mon. de Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 94, 224, 390–2; ii, 127; iii, 2, 11, 14, 32.

[78] Norman Moore, *Hist. of St. Barts Hosp.*, i, 88. Henry Fitz Reiner, who was one of the heirs of Richard Fitz Reiner his brother, held land in Vintry and Queenhithe Wards.

have had its caput in London. It was held by Ranulf Peverel, one of the Conqueror's followers, whom he rewarded with a great fief in Essex and the eastern counties. Ranulf died about 1090 and was succeeded by his son William, who gave the priory of Hatfield Peverel, founded by his mother Ingelrica, to St. Alban's Abbey. He died in the reign of Henry I, probably without issue, when his lands escheated to the Crown. It was Ranulf who, with the consent of his son William, gave the church of St. Martin Vintry to the Abbey of Gloucester which held it for many years.

The Honour of Peverel of Nottingham,[79] best remembered in connexion with Scott's *Peveril of the Peak*, was held by William Peverel, baron of the Côtentin and a famous general much trusted by the Conqueror and his eldest son. By his wife Adelina, who survived him and died in 1119, he had a son William and a daughter Adeliza, the wife of Richard de Redvers, Earl of Devon. William, the son, forfeited his lands for his complicity in the murder of Ranulf, Earl of Chester, in 1155. The Honour remained in the hands of the Crown until Richard the First gave it to his brother John, Count of Mortain, on his marriage with Isabella of Gloucester in 1189. John in the same year granted the soke in London pertaining to the Honour to Richard Fitz Reiner,[80] a prominent citizen with whom, as has already been stated, he was intimately associated politically and financially. John, we know, was in debt to the Fitz Reiner family,[81] and it was no doubt in part payment of his debts that he granted to Richard Fitz Reiner the soke of Peverel.

[79] The third Honour of Peverel, that of Dover, was held by William Peverel, who spent most of his time in Normandy. He had three sons, William, Hamon and Payn.

[80] Harl. Charters, 43, C. 32; Matth. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 347–8. [81] Maitland, *Bracton's Note-Book*, No. 994.

On the east side of the Walbrook developments were proceeding in a similar manner during the Conquest period. The manor of Walbrook occupying the parishes of St. Stephen, Walbrook, and St. Mary, Newchurch or Woolchurch, is traced to Hubert de Ryes, the companion of the Conqueror who came from Préaux near Bayeux. At his death before 1086 it passed to his son, Adam Fitz Hubert, who held also several manors in Kent of the Bishop of Bayeux, which owed suit at the court of Walbrook.[82] Adam was succeeded in 1098 by his brother Eudo Dapifer, a favourite minister of the Conqueror, and his two sons. Eudo held it until his death in 1120, when it reverted to the Crown. It was granted about the middle of the twelfth century to Henry Fitz Gerold, the King's chamberlain, whose ancestor had come over in the Conqueror's household.[83] Walbrook passed by the marriage of Margaret, daughter of Warine Fitz Gerold, to Baldwin de Redvers, Earl of Devon. By the marriage of her granddaughter Isabella to William de Fortibus, eighth Earl of Albemarle, the court of Walbrook and the Kentish fees of Adam Fitz Hubert were attached to the Honour of Albemarle, and the court became known as the court of the Honour of Albemarle.[84] Isabella died without issue, and the soke passed in 1310 to Robert Lisle of Rougemont, whose grandfather Robert had married Alice, daughter of Henry Fitz Gerold. The manor had extensive rights in the Stocks Market, and its stone house stood next the church of St. Mary, Woolchurch. This house was granted in 1119 by Eudo Dapifer to the abbey of St. John of Colchester,[85] and the

[82] Cf. *Cal. Inq.* (P.R.O.), Edw. I, vol. iii, p. 453; vol. iv, p. 274; Edw. II, vol. v, p. 3; vol. vii, p. 313.

[83] *Red Bk. of the Excheq.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 354–5.

[84] See *Cal. Inq.* (P.R.O.), loc. cit.

[85] *Cartul. of St. John's of Colchester* (Roxburgh Club), i, 3.

courts were afterwards held at a house in Walbrook belonging to the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon.[86]

If the Bishop of London held the land north of the central settlement at the bridgehead he must have disposed of a part of it before the Conquest, and was left with the important soke of Cornhill which included a considerable length of the market-place. Here the courts for all the Bishop's sokes in London were held, and malefactors condemned at them were executed at the Bishop's gallows at Stepney or Finsbury.[87] Shortly after the Conquest the eastern portion of this soke seems to have been subinfeudated and formed into a new soke, which later took the name of Leadenhall. Mr. Round has worked out the early history of the Cornhill family which held this fee.[88] He traces it back to Edward de Cornhill, a member of the Cnihtengild[89] living in 1125. His daughter Agnes married Gervase, son of Roger, who took the name of Cornhill. Their son Henry, who married Alice de Courci, had an only daughter Joan, who married Hugh de Neville, forester of England, by whom and his descendants the manor or soke of Cornhill was afterwards held.

Weremansacre was another of the great sokes which became split up by subinfeudation during the Conquest period. As we have already seen, it had become divided into two parts. The abbey of St. Peter of Ghent which held the western portion received confirmation of its rights here from time to time down to the thirteenth century, although it had parted with most of its lands. Shortly after the Conquest we find the part of St. Peter's soke which lay between Tower Street and the

[86] *Rot. Orig. Abbrev.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 298.
[87] *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), p. 456.
[88] *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 310.
[89] As to the Cnihtengild, see Chapter VII.

river, had become the soke of the Archbishop of Canterbury,[90] who about the end of the eleventh century obtained the advowson of the church of St. Dunstan in the East.[91] Robert de Turri, the Mantels[92] and Roger Blund[93] also held small fees near Mincing Lane.

The soke forming the eastern part of Weremansacre has already been traced down to the Conquest period.[94] The northern part of the soke adjoining Fenchurch Street was known as Blanchappleton, and to the court held here the lords of some seven manors belonging to the fee of the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford, who inherited them from the Mandevilles, owed suit, namely: North Mymmes,[95] Bushey[96] and Hinxworth[97] in Hertfordshire, South Mymmes[98] and Enfield[99] in Middlesex, Clapham[1] and Carshalton[2] in Surrey. It may perhaps be assumed that as the lands owing suit at Blanchappleton at one time belonged to the Mandevilles, Blanchappleton itself belonged to them. As in the case of the court of the Honour of Boulogne at St. Martin's le Grand and that of the Honour of Albemarle at Walbrook, although the soke of Blanchappleton had been granted to Robert de Valognes before 1177,[3] courts of the Honours of Hereford and Essex were held there for some four centuries. The Valognes estates were divided among co-heirs on the death of Christina, widow of William, sixth Earl of Essex, and wife of Raymond de

[90] Guildhall MS. 122, ff. 174, 863.
[91] Cott. MSS. Faustina B., vi, fol. 100.
[92] *Cartul. of St. John's of Colchester*, ii, 590. William Martel also had a soke which was in 1205 held by William de Wrotham, Archdeacon of Taunton. *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 18. [93] *Ibid.*, 299.
[94] See pp. 132–7. [95] *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. I, vol. ii, p. 359.
[96] *Ibid.*, Edw. I, vol. iv, p. 254. [97] *Ibid.*, Edw. III, vol. viii, p. 416.
[98] *Ibid.*, Edw. I, vol. iii, p. 180. [99] *Ibid.*, Edw. I, vol. ii, p. 442.
[1] *Ibid.*, Edw. I, vol. iii, p. 60. [2] *Ibid.*, Edw. III, vol. viii, p. 428.
[3] *Cat. of Anct. Deeds*, iv, No. A 7295.

Burgh, granddaughter of Robert de Valognes. We next find Blanchappleton in the possession of John de Vaux, who died seised of it in 1287, when it again passed to co-heirs.[4] The southern portion of this part of Weremansacre was probably held by the abbey of Barking, which had a soke in London in 1275.[5] As early as the time of Edward the Confessor the abbey had twenty-eight houses and a moiety of a church in London which rendered yearly 6s. 8d.[6] This church was apparently that of All Hallowes, Barking, which in 1291 still paid a pension of 6s. 8d. to the abbey.[7]

The early history of the soke of Aldgate, whose area approximately corresponded to the ward,[8] has already been referred to. At the Conquest, however, the gate and twelve houses in London belonging to the manor of Waltham, which no doubt represented the soke, were granted to Walcher, Bishop of Durham,[9] and the monastery of Durham had property there in the early years of the twelfth century.[10] Henry I gave the manor of Waltham to his Queen Maud, who exchanged certain mills there with the Dean and canons of Waltham for the site of the priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, which she founded in 1108.[11] As owner of Waltham manor, the Queen acquired the gate and soke of Aldgate which was attached to it,[12] and obtained certain lands in the soke which had belonged to Ramsey Abbey. With all of these she en-

[4] *Cal. of Inq. P.M.*, Edw. I, vol. ii, p. 404.
[5] *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), 405.
[6] Domesday Bk. See *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 448.
[7] *Pope Nich., Tax.* (Rec. Com.), p. 19b.
[8] For bounds see Transcript of Chart. of Holy Trinity, Guildhall MS. 122, f. 13.
[9] Domesday Bk., Translation in *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 446.
[10] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1921, p. 145.
[11] *V.C.H. Essex*, ii, 166; *V.C.H. London*, i, 465.
[12] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vi, 153, 155.

dowed the priory of Holy Trinity.[13] The soke was afterwards freed from all claims of the Bishop of Durham, the abbot of Ramsey and the dean and canons of Waltham.[14]

Within the soke of Aldgate there seems to have been a holding called Colemanhaw from which All Hallows, Colemanchurch, and St. Katherine, Colemanchurch, may have taken their names. We learn by a charter of Burhred (*c.* 837), King of the Mercians, of which we have only a corrupt copy, that he gave to Alhun, Bishop of Worcester, land called Ceolmundingehaga situate near the west gate of London.[15] It seems probable that the copyist has made a mistake by writing west gate for east gate, for there is no place of this name so far as we know near Newgate, and Colemanhaw was close to Aldgate as we learn from a series of conveyances from Holy Trinity Priory to Sir John Sandale, a minister of Edward I and Edward II.[16] Although there were liberties attached to this land it was not a soke.

The Cnihtengild which held Portsoken was in existence in Edgar's reign. Edward the Confessor ordered that their soke within the city and without should be held by the gildsmen who should retain the good laws they had in the time of King Edgar, and in that of his father and King Cnut.[17] From this charter it would appear that the lands of the gild lay both within the city walls and without, for the idea that the city extended to the bars was not recognised until some time after the Conquest. Confirmations in similar terms were made by

[13] *Ibid.* Grant of the Gate of Algate with the soke belonging to the same.

[14] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vi, 154; *Ramsey Chart.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 133; Anct. Deeds (P.R.O.), A 6690. [15] Thorpe, *Diplom.*, 118.

[16] Guildhall MSS., 122, fol. 55; Anct. Deeds (P.R.O.), A 1495, 1994, 2008. Sir John Sandale had a house with a chapel here. *Reg. Pal. Dunelm*, ii, 747, 749. [17] *Trans. London and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v, 481. See p. 136.

William II and Henry I.[18] In 1125 some fifteen burgesses representing the Cnihtengild attended at the chapter house of the monastery of Holy Trinity and gave to the prior and convent their land and soke adjoining the wall outside Aldgate and extending to the Thames.[19] Thereupon they offered the charter of St. Edward and the other charters upon the high altar and gave the prior seisin by the church of St. Botolph which was the head of the soke. They then sent Ordgar le Prude, one of their number, to King Henry asking him to confirm the gift,[20] which the King did.[21] The soke was frequently confirmed to the monastery and was held by it until the Dissolution.[22]

Besides the larger sokes in London there were from an early date the town houses of ecclesiastics and others, in which separate jurisdictions were claimed under the terms of charters granting the owners soc and sac throughout their lands. Such were the sokes of the abbot of Waltham Holy Cross at St. Mary at Hill near the quay, called "Holyroodwharf," which was acquired in the latter part of the twelfth century and held until the Dissolution.[23] Another was a house and quay at the head of London Bridge called St. Botolph's Gate, which was granted to Westminster by Almund when he became a monk there, and was confirmed by William the Conqueror.[24] The house at Londonstone on the site of Salters Hall, adjoining St. Swithin's Church, which was held by Henry Fitz Ailwin, the first mayor, was also probably one of the lesser manors or sokes of London.

[18] *Ibid.*, 479, 488.
[19] For bounds see Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter-Bk. C.*, p. 225.
[20] *Trans. London and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, v, 477–8. [21] *Ibid.*, 479.
[22] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vi, 153 *et seq.*
[23] *Archaeologia*, xxxvi, p. 400.
[24] Stow, *Surv. of London* (ed. Kingsford), i, 43.

With the transfer of the royal residence to Westminster there was an extension of London westward shortly after the Conquest, and the lands of Westminster Abbey formed a great soke covering the ancient parish of St. Margaret. As early as the Domesday Survey (1086) William the Chamberlain held a soke outside Newgate which was at one time called Chamberlainsgate.[25] The soke of Fleet was probably the same as the manor of Bridewell.[26] In the twelfth century the steady development of this western district began. London was becoming too crowded for new ecclesiastical or lay establishments and so they overflowed into the suburb. The first house of the Templars at Holborn, founded in 1118, probably necessitated a road from the Thames along New Lane, now Chancery Lane, for the carriage of stone and other material for building the preceptory. This New Lane gave an opportunity for erecting at a little later date houses with their sokes on either side of it. The Templars' new house, built in 1184, established a soke on the south side of Fleet Street, partly within and partly without what was later the city liberty. Another important foundation with its soke was that of the Priory of St. Bartholomew at West Smithfield, established in 1123. From the account of the foundation of this priory it would seem that its site was then a forsaken spot, marshy and full of pools of water, and the place of execution of criminals. The King's foundation charter to the priory included soc and sac and all liberties which went to make a soke, and here the prior claimed his soke and had his soke-reeve.[27]

At a later date the Bishop of Salisbury claimed soc and sac

[25] Stow, *Surv. of London* (ed. Kingsford), ii, 361.

[26] *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. I, ii, No. 356.

[27] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vi, 292–7; *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), 405; Norman Shaw, *Hist. of St. Barts*, i, 430.

at his London house in Fleet Street, now Salisbury Square, under a general charter of King John of 1200.[28] The land upon which the house was built was acquired by him in 1189 from the Hospitallers.[29] Later still, and outside the jurisdiction of the city, was the manor or soke of the Savoy which originally stretched south of the Strand to the Thames and from the west side of the Temple to Ivy Bridge,[30] which was destroyed in building an extension of the Hotel Cecil. Early in the thirteenth century the Savoy was in the hands of Brian de Insula, a justice of assize in the reign of Henry III. Here apparently he was building a house in 1223 when he received a gift of timber from Windsor Forest for his house in London.[31] Brian evidently belonged to the family of Lisles of the Isle of Wight, for we find his heirs holding land in Hampshire and the Island, of Baldwin de Insula, Earl of Devon.[32] He married Grace, daughter of Thomas, son of William de Saleby of Saleby in Lincolnshire,[33] and died apparently without issue in 1234. His heirs were Thomas, son of William Briton of Sydeling in Wiltshire and Alice his wife, William de Glamorgan of the Isle of Wight and Ralph, son of Brian de Stopham of Stopham in Sussex, a minor.[34] These heirs were possibly representatives of sisters. They received seisin of only part of his lands, as he died in debt to the Crown. In 1235 Briton and his wife and Glamorgan conveyed their two

[28] *Charter Roll John* (Rec. Com.), 67; *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 470.

[29] *Sarum Charters and Doc.* (Rolls Ser.), pp. 45, 71.

[30] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), ii, 91, 372.

[31] *Close Rolls, Hen. III* (Rec. Com.), 557.

[32] *V.C.H. Hants*, v, 25; *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Hen. III, No. 86, p. 175.

[33] *Close Roll* (Rec. Com.), 17b. Fosse gives his wife's name as Maud, but this is an error. (*Cal. of Charter Rolls*, i, 35; *Bracton's Note-Bk.*, No. 1205, 1496; *Excerpta E. Rot. Fin.*, ii, 297.) She died in 1259.

[34] *Excerpta E. Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 265.

parts of a messuage, opposite the church of Holy Innocents in the suburb of London, to Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, then chancellor.[35] The Stopham share being held by a minor was probably not conveyed until later. The chancellor seems to have surrendered the holding to the King, and he, in 1246, granted it to the Queen's uncle Peter of Savoy,[36] from whom it became known as the manor of the Savoy. It was afterwards attached to the Duchy of Lancaster.

Further west and in the north-west at Clerkenwell and elsewhere more sokes were created at a later date. To the north outside the walls the soke of Cripplegate has been already alluded to. The marsh land or moor at the Walbrook, partly in the soke of Bishopsgate and partly in Cripplegate soke, took the name of Finsbury or Vinesbury. It was probably reclaimed at the end of the eleventh century, as we have reference to the prebend of St. Paul's of this name early in the next century.[37]

Other sokes arose in and around London during the thirteenth century until the legislation of the Edwards brought the practice of creating them to an end.

[35] Feet of Fines, London and Midd., Hen. III, No. 117.

[36] *Cal. Charter Roll*, i, 292; Charters of Duchy of Lanc., *Deputy Keeper's Rep.*, xxxi, p. 8.

[37] Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i, 159. Fin or Phin the Dane was a Domesday tenant in Essex who may have given his name to this bury.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS

The ecclesiastical development of London probably followed the course it took elsewhere. Originally no doubt the cathedral church of St. Paul served the whole of the city; the Whitsuntide processions to it from all the city churches, as to their mother church,[1] being perhaps an indication of this condition. With the development of sokes under Alfred it is probable that an ecclesiastical expansion also began. The lords of sokes would desire to have churches or minsters (*monasteria*), then usually founded on important thoroughfares, to serve their liberties. Each of these churches, according to the custom of the time, would be served by a small community of two or more priests. In this way we may perhaps have in the tenth century or later the church of St. Michael, Queenhithe, on Thames Street, serving the soke of Queenhithe; the church of St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street, on the old northern boundary of Westcheap, described as a minster,[2] serving the lands of the King's residence; the church of St. Martin Vintry, serving the soke possibly to be identified with Peverel of London; the church of St. Peter Cornhill, serving the bishop's soke of Cornhill; the church of Holy Cross, later Holy Trinity, serving the soke of Aldgate; the church of St. Dunstan in the East serving the soke of St. Peter of Ghent; and the church

[1] Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 466, 651.
[2] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 18.

of All Hallows, Barking, serving the eastern part of the soke of Weremansacre.

Besides the churches of the sokes there were other early churches outside the areas of the sokes within the city, also of the nature of minsters. Amongst them were the churches of St. Mary Aldermary[3] and St. John the Baptist, Walbrook,[4] which are definitely described as *monasteria*. The former of these, St. Mary Aldermary (Elderemaricherche), or the older church of St. Mary, stood on Watling Street and possibly served the district which later formed a part of the Deanery of the Arches. This church was superseded in importance by the church of St. Mary le Bow, which was said to be built in the time of William I and to be so called from being the first church in London to be erected upon arches or a crypt.[5] St. Mary le Bow was founded in Cheapside, which had become a more important thoroughfare than Watling Street, and so it took the place of the older church of St. Mary, which became known as "Eldermaricherche" in consequence. The fact that Bow Church supported one of the three principal schools in London in the twelfth century tends to show that it was still at that time a minster with a small community of priests. The church of St. John the Baptist, Walbrook, formerly fronting on Watling Street, also described as a minster, has a further claim to antiquity by the discovery in its churchyard of a cross-head which is attributed to the latter part of the tenth or early part of the eleventh century.[6] At St. Bennet Fink[7] a grave slab of the same period has been found, which again indicates an early date for the establishment of the

[3] Dug. *Mon. Angl.*, i, 109. [4] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 13.
[5] Stow, *Surv. of London* (ed. Kingsford), i, 253.
[6] *V.C.H. Lond.*, i, 169.
[7] *Ibid.*, 170. So called from its thirteenth-century rebuilder.

church. It is perhaps from the middle or latter part of the tenth century that the foundation of these minsters or mother churches can be assigned; and although St. Peter's Cornhill has a fabulous origin, this date or one perhaps a little later will apply to most of the others. St. John the Baptist, Walbrook, and St. Bennet Fink, from the fragments found in their churchyards, may well be of this period; Holy Cross, Aldgate, from its dedication, was probably founded in the eleventh century when Aldgate was held with the manor of Waltham Holy Cross; St. Martin's Vintry is mentioned in the same century, and although the earliest reference to the other churches is in the twelfth century they were probably founded before that time. Some of these minsters were refounded and endowed as regular monasteries, as for instance Holy Cross, which became the priory of Holy Trinity, founded by Queen Maud, the wife of Henry I; the priories of St. Martin le Grand and St. Helen, Bishopsgate, were possibly other examples. Such a development accounts for many of the traditions of the early existence of monasteries before the date of their reputed foundation, and among them perhaps the stories of Westminster and St. Martin's. The other minster churches became reckoned among the ordinary parish churches, but it is evident that Fitz Stephen, in his account of London of about 1185, included some of these churches in his total of thirteen greater conventual churches (*tresdecim majores ecclesiæ conventuum*) in London and the suburb, otherwise this number cannot be accounted for.[8] Without the walls each soke had

[8] *Lives of Thom. Beket* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 3. Strictly speaking there were only six full conventual churches in Fitz Stephen's time in London and the suburb, namely St. Paul's, St. Martin's, Holy Trinity, St. Bartholomew's, the Temple and Southwark, but he may have included by the word suburb the immediate neighbourhood of London.

its church placed immediately outside the gate. St. Sepulchre at Newgate, perhaps for the Chamberlain's soke; St. Botolph at Aldersgate, and at a later date St. Giles at Cripplegate, for St. Martin le Grand's soke of Cripplegate; St. Botolph at Bishopsgate for the Bishop of London's extra mural soke of Bishopsgate; and St. Botolph at Aldgate for the Cnihtengild's soke of Portsoken.

With the subinfeudations of the Conquest period we have the manorial and more modern type of parish church built by the lord of the manor or soke adjoining to his house, a condition which naturally applied originally to lay holdings only. It is difficult to trace this type of development in the parishes of London, as the evidence of a manorial system which existed for so short a time, has been largely lost. Instances of these churches, however, will be found in St. Andrew by the Wardrobe adjoining the site of Castle Baynard, where the soke of the Castle and the parish of St. Andrew were coterminous;[9] in St. Mary Woolchurch, which was built by Hubert de Ryes shortly after the Conquest, next the house of his manor of Walbrook;[10] in St. Mary Mounthaw, built next the site of the manor house of the Montalts,[11] later of the Bishops of Hereford, where the parish and manor are practically coterminous; in the church of St. Mary Aldermanbury which adjoined the Alderman's bury or manor house; in St. Michael Bassishaw which adjoined a house built here by the Basings, whose parish is coterminous with the ward of Bassishaw; in St. Swithin which adjoined the house of the Fitz Ailwin family at London Stone, the advowson of which church belonged to them;[12] in

[9] *Mun. Gild.* (Rolls. Ser.), vol. ii, pt. i, 150.
[10] *Cart. of St. John's of Colchester*, i, 3.
[11] Stow, *Surv. of London*, ii, p. 4.
[12] *Liber de Antiq. Legibus* (Camden Soc.), p. lxxiv.

St. Margaret, Lothbury, that seems to have been the church of the manor or soke of Lothbury; in St. Mildred Poultry, possibly the church of the manor of the Bocointes here; in St. Mary Colechurch that of the manor of Bucklersbury; in All Hallows Staining or, as it was sometimes called, All Hallows Blanchappleton, that of the manor of Blanchappleton; in All Hallows the Less that of the manor of Coldharbour; and in St. Mary at Hill that of the manor of the Abbot of Waltham.

There can be no doubt that pious and wealthy citizens who had no manors or sokes also built churches, particularly in the crowded central part of London, where the churches are most numerous and the parishes and churches the smallest. We know that there was a system that prevailed in London during the eleventh and twelfth centuries of building churches either that the founders themselves might be ordained to serve them, or that they might give them to a relative or friend to serve. This gave a special incentive to church building in London. Sometimes the gift was made in perpetuity and at others for life or lives. It usually happened that the incumbent entered religion at a monastery to which he gave the church on his admission; it was in this way that most of the London churches fell into the hands of religious houses. Thus during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the church of St. Paul's seems to have obtained the churches of St. Botolph, Billingsgate, and St. Martin, Candlewick Street, from Ordgar the deacon;[13] St. Edmund the King from Daniel the priest, with a provision that his son, Ismael, should hold it for life;[14] St. Giles, Cripplegate, from Aelmund the priest, the friend of Rahere, who built it;[15] St. Helen, Bishopsgate, from Ranulf

[13] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 63a. [14] *Ibid.*, 64b. [15] *Ibid.*, 62a.

and Robert his son ;[16] and St. Michael le Querne from Nicholas, son of Algar.[17] Westminster Abbey acquired the churches of St. Anne and St. Agnes from Godric Kolbe (?) ; and St. Magnus the Martyr from Living and his son, when the grantors became monks.[18] St. Martin's le Grand received St. Botolph, Aldersgate, from Turstan the priest.[19] Holy Trinity, Aldgate, obtained St. Mildred Poultry from Sparkling, the priest, on becoming a canon there. Christ Church, Canterbury, was given the churches of St. Dionis Backchurch by Godwin the clerk, called " Bak " ;[20] St. Dunstan in the East and St. Alphage, by Andrew the clerk ;[21] and St. Pancras, Soper Lane, by Lifric the priest, when the donors became monks.[22] These gifts, however, somewhat obscure the early history of the churches and the parishes they served, for the records of the monasteries to which they were granted, give the name of the priest, who was the donor of the church, but not that of the builder and owner of the land which formed the parish.

Many of these livings were frequently held by clerical members of well-known London families and were often handed down from father to son, for the celibacy of the clergy was not as yet enforced. Ordgar the deacon, of a good London family, gave the churches of St. Martin Orgar and St. Botolph, Billingsgate, to St. Paul's on condition that he should hold them for life, and after his death his sons Walter and Hervey should have them for their lives, and then a son of Walter and a son of Christina, daughter of Ordgar, should hold them.[23]

[16] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 64b. [17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Dep. Keeper Rep.*, xxix, p. 35.
[19] Doc. Abb. and Conv. of Westm. London B. Box 2 (1).
[20] Cott. MS. Faustina B., vi, fol. 100. [21] *Ibid.* [22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 63.

Another instance of a family living is that of St. Michael le Querne which was leased by St. Paul's to Nicholas, son of Algar, the parish priest, with a covenant that at his death it should go to a son of Ralph Fitz Herlwin, who had married Ælfgar's niece Mary.[24] In the same way Aelmund the priest and a brother of the church of St. Paul gave the church of St. Giles to the canons of St. Paul's to be received after the death of his only son Hugh.[25] In 1148 St. Paul's granted the church of St. Augustine, Watling Street, to Edward the priest for 20s. a year, undertaking to build or rebuild the church in six years, and after that term for the remainder of Edward's life at a rent of a mark of silver.[26] Similar leases for lives were made by the canons of St. Paul's of the churches of St. Anthony, St. John upon Walbrook, St. Edmund and others.[27] It is quite likely that the practice was adopted by other monasteries besides St. Paul's.[28]

There seems to be evidence that with a few exceptions all the hundred and twenty closely packed churches of London were originally built before 1200; and indeed we may assert with some confidence that the majority of them were founded during the two centuries before that date. The dedications of the churches may perhaps throw light on this point. Although we have record of a few changes of dedication, such as St. Olave to St. Nicholas or St. Nicholas Olave, Holy Cross to Holy Trinity, and St. Agnes to St. Anne and St. Agnes, St. Werburg to St. John, and perhaps St. Edmund to St. Sepulchre, the practice was comparatively rare and the cases are probably

[24] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 309; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 20a, 64a. [25] *Ibid.*, 64. [26] *Ibid.*, 63a. [27] *Ibid.*, 63, 64.

[28] About 1150 Peter the priest gave St. Mary Bothaw to Canterbury upon condition he should remain vicar. *Litt. Cantuar* (Rolls Ser.), iii, App. p. 357.

known. Besides the churches of apostolic dedication it may be pointed out that the cults of St. Anthony of Vienna, St. George, St. Margaret and St. Nicholas did not reach this country until the eleventh century; it was the translation of St. Dunstan in 1012, St. Edmund the King in 1020, St. Mildred in 1033 and St. Owen in 1016, which brought these saints into notoriety, and St. Alphege did not die until 1012 and St. Olave until 1030. It is unlikely, therefore, that the numerous churches in London of these dedications would have been built before the eleventh century.

Owing to the practice of dedicating so many churches to the same saint it was found necessary to make some distinction amongst them by means of a personal or topographical suffix. The personal names usually represent the owners, donors or benefactors, such as St. Bennet Fink, after Robert Fink who rebuilt the church; St. Bennet Sherehog, from a family of that name who were probably benefactors; St. Dionis Backchurch, after Godwin the clerk called "Bak," who gave it to Canterbury; St. John Zachery, from Zachery a priest, to whom it was given; St. Margaret Moses, in like manner from Moses the priest; St. Margaret Paten, probably from its benefactors Ranulf and Robert Patin; St. Martin Orgar, from Ordgar the deacon, who gave it to St. Paul's; St. Martin Outwich, from a benefactor named Martin Oteswich; St. Mary Mounthaw, from the patronage being with the Montalts; St. Mary Somerset, supposed to be from the family of Somery; St. Mary Woolnoth from Wulfnoth de Walebrok, and many others, the origin of the suffixes of which is more uncertain. The topographical suffixes merely indicate the positions of the churches, as St. Michael, Queenhithe, or St. Michael, Wood Street.

The churches outside the gates, established probably for the use of travellers, have already been noted. To those previously mentioned may be added that of St. Magnus outside the city wall at the entrance from old London Bridge. Not only were there churches outside each of the gates of the city, but we find them at two of the entrances to the precincts of St. Paul's, namely St. Augustine, Watling Street, or St. Augustine at Paul's Gate or at St. Augustine's Gate at Watling Street, and St. Michael le Querne or St. Michael at Paul's Gate or at North Gate. Again, St. Alban's, Wood Street, seems to have been at the entrance to the King's residence in London. Besides the churches outside the gates, there appear to have been corresponding churches inside, as St. Anne at Aldersgate, St. Ethelburga at Bishopsgate, Holy Trinity at Aldgate and St. Margaret, Fish Street, at the Bridge.

It is probable that the parish boundaries were not originally fixed with the precision of modern times. Although there were orchards and gardens sufficient to grow vegetables and fruit, herbs and flowers, attached to the houses, and in the outer parts of London possibly pasture and even arable land, yet prædial tithes were so slight as to be practically negligible. The services of the churches were therefore maintained from endowments, fees, oblations and personal tithes. In an action as to the tithes of St. Dunstan in the West in 1343 it was argued that oblations were as certain as tithes, and in cities and boroughs were paid by reason of residence; and there were no other tithes in the parish of St. Dunstan.[29] This argument applied particularly to London, where the privy or personal tithes took the form of a customary rate on the rent

[29] *Year Bk.*, 16 *Edw. III* (Rolls Ser.), pt. ii, p. 282.

of each house. Such a levy was made at the rate of a farthing on every ten shillings' rent, for every Sunday and apostle's feast day. In 1228 Roger Niger, Bishop of London, confirmed this custom and made it obligatory.[30] Up to this date the boundaries of the parishes had probably been more or less fluid. When a church was built it was endowed with the tithe from lands allotted by the builder, in the same way as the churches elsewhere in the country were endowed. This area became the parish, but in London and other large towns small parcels of land frequently passed from an owner in one parish to an adjoining owner in another. Such parcels before Bishop Roger's order would probably be annexed to the parish to which they were attached, and hence perhaps the irregularity of the London parish boundaries. Some of the parishes, particularly those in the outer parts of London, seem to have been formed for a particular street and have their boundary running at the ends of the yards or gardens of the houses on either side of the street. Instances of this are St. Michael's Bassishaw that served a parish formed for Basinghall Street (see map, p. 177); St. Alban's Wood Street, St. Michael's Wood Street, and St. Peter's Cheap, that appear to be parishes formed for Wood Street, St. Alban's being possibly at one time the sole church for the street; St. Botolph's, Aldersgate Street, which served a parish formed in the same way for Aldersgate Street; and All Hallows, Bread Street, and St. Mildred's, Bread Street, were likewise parishes formed to serve Bread Street.

The church was the source of all education, and it must be remembered that few people save the clergy could read or write. All clerks, whether they kept the accounts and per-

[30] Will. Easterby, *Law of Tithes in England*, p. 103.

formed the clerical duties for a king or a merchant, were ordained in minor orders. Andrew Bocointe, the justiciar of London in 1137 and a merchant, had a favourite clerk, Baldwin, afterwards the priest of St. Stephen's Church, Walbrook, who besides the ordinary clerical services which he gave to Bocointe, appears to have acted as tutor to the justiciar's son John.[31] We can well see how the claims of such a trusted family servant influenced a patron in making the presentation to a church. Again, we know that Thomas Becket acted as clerk to his wealthy kinsman, Osbert Huitdeniers, who succeeded Bocointe as justiciar.[32]

London in the twelfth century was an important centre of education. Fitz Stephen states that the three principal schools were at St. Paul's, Holy Trinity and St. Martin's, but other schools were allowed by permission.[33] A mandate of about 1141 was issued by the Bishop of Winchester during a vacancy of the See of London to the chapter of St. Paul's and William the archdeacon to pronounce sentence of anathema against those who presumed to teach (*legere*) in the city of London without the licence of Henry, master of the schools, except those who kept the schools of St. Mary le Bow and St. Martin le Grand.[34] This mandate gives the names of the three great schools at that time in London. Probably Fitz Stephen made a slip in giving Holy Trinity in the place of St. Mary le Bow as one of the three privileged schools, for we have reference elsewhere to the latter school. The principal school was that of St. Paul's, where not only was the youth of London

[31] *Cart. of St. John's of Colchester* (Roxburgh Club), ii, 294.
[32] Round, *Commune of London*, 113–14.
[33] *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, pt. i, p. 5.
[34] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 45b. Cf. Round, *Commune of London*, p. 117.

instructed in elementary education, but there was a university curriculum including faculties in law, grammar, rhetoric, logic and divinity. Here Thomas Becket, the celebrated archbishop, about 1127, before going on to the university of Paris, and other famous Londoners, received their education. Fitz Stephen describes how about this time the scholars of St. Paul's and the two other schools met on saints' days; the elder boys contending in logic and rhetoric, and the younger in grammar, epigrams, rhymes and metres. Shrove Tuesday was celebrated by a cockfight in the morning, followed by a great game of ball, perhaps football, at Smithfield. The chancellor of St. Paul's was the master of the schools (*magister scolarum*) and had charge of them. Bachelors' degrees were apparently granted,[35] and from St. Paul's School came most of the clergy of the diocese, many of the lawyers and judges, and the sheriffs, mayors, barons and other officials and merchants of London.

The school of law seems to have been particularly strong at St. Paul's. Two chancellors of the cathedral in the early part of the thirteenth century, Henry de Cornhill and John Mansell,[36] were eminent judges, and some dozen equally famous lawyers were canons during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and possibly lectured on law in the schools.[37] In the previous century London turned out a very large number of lawyers who by their judgments were building up the law of the land. Such men as the two Cornhills, merchants, poli-

[35] Leach, *Schools of Medieval England*, 186.

[36] Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i, 108. Newcourt also gives William de Sanctae Mariae Ecclesia, a lawyer, among the chancellors, but it is doubtful if he held the office.

[37] Dugdale, *Origines Juridiciales*, 21; Foss, *Lives of the Judges*, under names.

ticians and judges ; Ralph de Ardern, son-in-law of Glanville ; Henry Fitz Ailwin, the first mayor ; Henry de London ; Brian de Insula ; the Rengers, father and son, sheriffs and aldermen, and many others who gained fame by the administration of the law, probably had their early education at St. Paul's. Apparently to foster the law schools he had founded at Oxford, Henry III in 1234 forbad the teaching of law at the law schools in the city of London.[38] Although these schools were thus driven out of London, still more important and lasting institutions were established outside its gates. Law students, after attending the schools, had hitherto obtained their training as clerks to judges or other legal magnates. In this way the judge, William de Insula, began his career in the service of Reginald de Cornhill ;[39] another judge, Martin Pateshull, rose as a clerk to Simon Pateshull, and the great Bracton as a clerk to Raleigh.[40] Others began their careers as clerks in the chancery, which until the end of the twelfth century travelled about with the King's household. The chancellor's household was later separated from that of the King, and eventually at the end of the thirteenth century became stationary at the " Domus Conversorum " or the Rolls House on the site of the Public Record Office. This was the first of the Inns of Chancery which were to bring back the fame of London as a centre for legal education. Clifford's Inn and Thaive's Inn were taken by the apprentices of the law, the barristers of to-day, in the middle of the fourteenth century. There the apprentices established themselves until they found better accommodation at the Temple a few years later, when

[38] *Cal. of Close*, 1234–7, p. 26.
[39] Foss, *Judges of Engl.*, ii, 373.
[40] Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Engl. Law*, i, 169, 205

Clifford's Inn and Thaive's Inn became Inns of Chancery. In this manner the Inns of Court and Chancery, so great a feature of London life and so important a school for legal education, developed partly within and partly without the city boundaries.

CHAPTER VI

THE WARDS

LIKE most English institutions, the present ward system of London grew out of a pre-existing organization. There is ample evidence that the wards in towns and in the northern counties, like the hundreds in rural districts of the south, were originally devised for military purposes.[1] We know that the military organization of London enabled the city to become almost impregnable and that its military host proved itself the most efficient force in the land on many occasions during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Probably ten of the intramural wards of London correspond in area to the ancient sokes of the city, namely the Wards of Queenhithe (the soke of Ethelredshithe), Castle Baynard, the ward of the Bishop, or St. Paul's Ward (the combined sokes of Castle Baynard, St. Paul's precincts and St. Bennet), Ludgate and Newgate or Farringdon (the King of Scotland's soke), Aldersgate (the soke of St. Martin le Grand), Cripplegate (the soke of the King's residence), Cornhill (the soke of the Bishop of London), Bishopsgate (another soke of the same bishop), Aldgate (the soke of Holy Trinity Priory), the Tower (the soke of Weremansacre) and Walbrook (probably the soke of Walbrook). This list shows the sokes existing at about the time of the Conquest after Edward the Confessor had abandoned the royal

[1] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 727–8; see pp. 211–13.

residence in London for the Palace of Westminster and before the multiplication of smaller sokes by subinfeudation or otherwise. It is likely enough that each of the soke owners, the barons who held sokes, or their soke-reeves, had to supply a quota of men from his soke under the command of a "cniht" for the defence of the city. In the central part around the bridgehead inside the ring of sokes, which was the most populous district of London, the King's port-reeve would have to arrange for the supply of men; and in order to carry out this duty effectively, the area in his jurisdiction would have to be divided into districts corresponding, at all events approximately, to the wards.

The wards that do not represent sokes were formed from streets or centres of trade, and the lands on either side subservient to them. Thus there were formed the wards of Bread Street, Cordwainer Street, Vintry, Cheap, Coleman Street, Broad Street, Candlewick Street, Bridge, Billingsgate and Lime Street. The watchmen, we are told in some orders of the time of King John, were especially directed to go out peacefully to watch throughout the night and safely to guard the street (*vicum*) or chief thoroughfare of the ward.[2] Even in the case of the wards formed from sokes there was usually one important street which the watchman would patrol, such as in Farringdon Ward there was Newgate Street; in Cripplegate Ward, Wood Street; in Bassishaw Ward, Basinghall Street (see map, p. 177); in Bishopsgate Ward, Bishopsgate Street; in Aldgate Ward, Leadenhall Street; and in Tower Ward, Tower Street.[3] It is probable that at one time the

[2] Round, *Commune of London*, 255, quoting Add. MS. 14,252, fol. 106.

[3] In Winchester the aldermen were called after the streets, such as the alderman of Tanner Street, etc. *V.C.H. Hants*, v, 29, 44.

SKETCH MAP OF LONDON SHOWING WARDS.

ward took its topographical name from the place of meeting of the Wardmote, naturally the street which was the centre of the ward, in the same way as the rural hundreds took their names from the meeting places of the hundred court.

From the first extant list of the wards of London which appears in a survey of the lands of St. Paul's, made in or about 1130, we have reference to twenty wards. The list is probably complete,[4] but it is difficult to identify the modern topographical names of the wards owing to the practice of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of describing the wards by the names of their aldermen. The twenty wards referred to in this list may perhaps be identified as follows : On the west side of the Walbrook, Aldersgate (probably *Warda Brichmari Monetarii*), Bread Street (*Warda Herberti*), Castle Baynard (*Warda Episcopi*), Cheap (*Warda Fori*), Coleman Street (probably *Warda Haconis*), Cordwainer Street, Cripplegate or Wood Street (probably *Warda Alwoldi*), Farringdon or Ludgate and Newgate, Queenhithe (*Warda Hugonis filii Ulgari*), and Vintry (*Warda Osberti Dringewinne*). On the east side of the Walbrook the ten wards seem to have been Aldgate (Alegate), Billingsgate, Bishopsgate (with Lime Street), Bridge, Broad Street, Candlewick Street, Cornhill (probably *Warda Radulphi filii Livivæ*), Langbourne or Lombard Street, Tower and Walbrook (with Dowgate).

Three additional intramural wards (Lime Street, Dowgate and Bassishaw) were formed probably before the end of the twelfth century, and a complete list of the twenty-four wards, comprising twenty-three intramural wards and Portsoken

[4] It is printed in Price, *Account of the Gildhall*, p. 16. The document is itself incomplete, but there is apparently nothing lost from the part relating to the wards.

John Swain & Son.

SKETCH MAP TO ILLUSTRATE FORMATION OF BASSISHAW AND COLEMAN STREET WARDS.

ADAPTED FROM THE ORDNANCE SURVEY MAP BY PERMISSION OF THE CONTROLLER OF H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

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occurs in 1228.[5] If we are to accept Miss Bateson's theory that the twenty-four, whose oath (dated 1205–6) she quotes, refer to the twenty-four aldermen, the wards must have been made up to this number before that date.[6]

As regards the development of the ward system without the walls, it has already been pointed out that the sokes within the walls seem originally to have had rights over the land immediately outside. It is doubtful, however, whether the jurisdiction of the city courts extended at first beyond the walls. The charter of Henry I of about 1132 provides only for the lands within the walls, the citizens, it declares, were not to plead outside the walls, and the rules given as to the lodging of strangers apply only to the district within the walls.[7] Between this date and the charter of Henry II (*c.* 1155) the Portsoken was recognised as an adjunct to the city, to which certain privileges enjoyed by the city extended. It was not until Henry III's charter of 1268 that there is a reference in a royal charter to the city jurisdiction extending to the suburb. From this time the suburb is frequently referred to in charters, but the city within the walls continued to be considered distinct from it, and the city's privileges were only gradually extended to the suburb.[8] By Henry's charter of 1268 the right of the citizens to discharge themselves from pleas of the Crown was carried to the suburb, but the citizens were still exonerated from pleading outside the walls and the acquittance of murder was confined

[5] Beaven, op. cit., 366, citing Pipe Roll of 12 Hen. III.

[6] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 507–8. Round, *Commune of London*, 237.

[7] Appendix, No. I.

[8] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 507–8. See also the form of plea in an assize of novel disseisin (*Mun. Gild. London* (Rolls Ser.), i, 195; iii, 27) and the constitution that the whoremonger taken a third time should be put out of the gates, a rule only intended for the city. (*Ibid.*, iii, 180.)

to the city and Portsoken.[9] It is at about this time we have the earliest reference to the Liberty of London, meaning the district over which the city courts had jurisdiction including the city, suburb and Portsoken.

At first possibly the suburb was an undefined area kept open for purposes of defence and cultivated by the citizens, the fertility of its fields are referred to by Fitz Stephen in the latter part of the twelfth century. Those who in the twelfth century wished to find sites for the foundation of new religious houses or for building themselves mansions with grounds, had to seek for land outside the walls. So soon as it became inhabited, the suburb had to be limited by boundaries, which was done by means of bars or barriers erected at the entrance to the suburb on the main roads converging on the city. We find these bars existed as early as the end of the twelfth century.[10] Except in the sense that some of the sokes were manors, the lands within the bars were not manorialised, but immediately outside them were the manors of Westminster, Holborn, Finsbury, St. Pancras, Portpool and East Smithfield, all of which and possibly some others extended up to the bounds of the suburb.

In the thirteenth, and possibly in the twelfth century, the aldermen of the wards next the city wall, in the same way as the soke-owners, seem to have had jurisdiction over the lands outside the wall which adjoined their wards. Thus

[9] Birch, *Hist. Charters of the City of London*, 38–42.

[10] See reference to bars at Smithfield and outside Aldersgate in 1197 Feet of Fines Lond. and Midd., 8 Rich. I, No. 18), and to the bar of the Old Temple in Holborn in 1203–4 and that of the New Temple in 1272 (*Ibid.*, Hen. III, No. 509), to the bar at Cripplegate in 1293 (De Banco Roll, No. 100, m. 69). Cripplegate Bar was also known as the Bar of the Red Cross, from which Redcrouch Street took its name. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 11.

Farringdon, Aldersgate, Cripplegate and Bishopsgate Wards each had its outer and inner districts which, owing to the increasing population in the fourteenth century, were made into separate wards. The first extramural ward to be thus formed was the great district on the west side of the city known as Farringdon Without or Fleet or Fleet Street Ward, and before 1335 Aldersgate Without and Cripplegate Without were separated from their intramural wards.[11]

There seems to be little evidence that the early aldermanries were hereditary, as has been asserted by some of the historians of London. It is possible that the "cnihts" who, it would seem, organised the military levies, were selected for the sokes at the sokemotes and for the districts outside the sokes at a court of the portreeve; for election was in accordance with Saxon and Scandinavian practice. With the appearance of ward aldermen some time before 1111, when we have the earliest reference to one of them,[12] it is probable that the elective method was in use and was subsequently maintained. It was the established mode of selection in 1319, the election being usually on the feast of St. Gregory the Pope.[13] The supposition that the office was hereditary has arisen from the fact that it was frequently held for long periods by one man, and in some instances a son followed his father in the office. In the cases also of Portsoken and Farringdon the elective system was not in use for a time. It is probable that the

[11] Lay Subsidy Bdle., 144, No. 8.

[12] Tursten alderman de la Ward witness to a deed dated 14th of the Kalends of August, 1111, as to lands in or near the parish of St. Benedict on the Thames (St. Bennet Paul's Wharf), which would be in Castle Baynard Ward. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 67b.

[13] *Mun. Gild. Lond.*, ii, pt. i, p. 268.

aldermen, like the early mayors and elected sheriffs, held their offices by a tacit understanding that they should continue in them perhaps for life, at all events for so long as it was pleasing to the electors and elected. Upon the point of a son succeeding his father, which is only of rare occurrence, we know this frequently happens at the present day in the case of parliamentary constituencies, and Mr. Beaven has called attention to the fact that in 1912 there were three members of the Court of Aldermen itself, who, in the ordinary course of election, had succeeded their fathers, and certainly had no proprietary interest in their wards.[14]

With regard to the case of Portsoken, the prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, was ex-officio alderman of the ward, as successor to the alderman of the "cnihtengild," the former owners of the soke, which gild, according to the custom of the time, would elect their alderman as the head of both gild and soke. When the soke was handed over to the prior in 1125, he, as elected head of the monastery, would take the place of alderman of the ward.

The question of the hereditary succession to the aldermanry of the Ward of Ludgate and Newgate, later called Farringdon, which was maintained for some twenty-eight years, is more difficult of solution. From the early part of the thirteenth century, when we first get the name of an alderman of the ward, until 1265, when Michael Toni, who had sided with Simon de Montfort, was deposed from his office of alderman of the ward, there seems to have been no claim to any proprietary right to the aldermanry. But at this date we find the ward within and without the walls in the possession of Thomas, son of Ralph de Arderne. Ap-

[14] Beaven, *Aldermen of London*. Introd., xv.

parently he never performed the duties of alderman, but about 1269 he leased the office for life to Anketin de Auvergne, who died in 1277. Just before Anketin's death Thomas de Arderne granted the reversion of the office in fee to Ralph le Fevre or Faber, at the rent of a gillyflower and a fine of 20 marks. Ralph le Fevre held the office for a year and died in 1278, when his son John granted the aldermanry to William Farringdon or Farndon, citizen and goldsmith of London, and his heirs. William Farringdon held the office for some fifteen years and died in 1294, having in the year before his death granted it to Nicholas le Fevre, apparently a son of Ralph le Fevre. Nicholas, who had married Farringdon's only child Isabel,[15] took his father-in-law's name. He held the office until his death in 1334, but made no claim to any hereditary right, and, notwithstanding the conveyance to him of the aldermanry, he was elected or re-elected alderman in the same year (1293).[16] Possibly the claim to the hereditary right was challenged and a compromise made, whereby Nicholas Farringdon or le Fevre was elected and allowed to serve the office for life. Nicholas, however, left the aldermanry to John de Pulteney who, it appears, never held it, and Richard Lacer became the next alderman of the ward, whether by election or purchase there is no evidence to show. He held the office for twenty-three years, and after him his successors were elected in the ordinary way.[17]

The origin of this temporary and somewhat shadowy claim possibly arose from the grant of the soke of the King of

[15] This descent has been taken from Stow, *Survey of London* (ed. Kingsford), i, 310–11 ; ii, 343–4 ; Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter-Bk. A*, p. 226.

[16] Sharpe, *Cal. to Letter-Bk. C*, p. 11.

[17] Beaven, op. cit, p. xv, quoting Husting Roll 62 (102) and Letter-Bk. G, fol. 66.

Scotland or of the Honour of Huntingdon, which occupied the area of the ward, to Roger Fitz Reinfred in the latter part of the reign of Henry II, already recorded. Possibly what were granted were the rights of jurisdiction, and not the lands of the soke, which we know remained with the Kings of Scotland and their successors.

Probably the grantee of the soke was Roger Fitz Reinfred, an eminent justice, who is said to have been the brother of Walter de Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen and justiciar of England.[18] It appears that he was twice married, first to Rohaise, widow of Gilbert de Gant, Earl of Lincoln, and niece of Ranulf, Earl of Chester, by whom he had a son, Gilbert Fitz Reinfred, who married in 1189, Helewise, daughter of William de Lancaster. Gilbert Fitz Reinfred held many offices under Henry II, Richard I and John, and died in 1220. He had a son, William de Lancaster, a justice, who took his mother's name and married Agnes de Brus. At his death without issue in 1246 his estates passed to his nephews, Peter, son of his sister, Helewise, and her husband, Peter de Brus, and Walter, son of another sister, Alice, and her husband, William de Lindsay.[19] Roger Fitz Reinfred married secondly Alice, niece of Ralf Briton, by whom he had three sons, Reinfred Fitz Roger, also known as Reinfred de Bruera, Henry Fitz Roger and Ralf de Bruera,[20] but by descent from none of these families can any connexion with the Arderns be found. It is conceivable perhaps that Roger Fitz Reinfred conveyed the soke to his well-known fellow-

[18] The Fitz Reinfred descent is not clear and it may be there was another Roger Fitz Reinfred in London at this time.

[19] This descent is given in *V.C.H. Lanc.*, i, 361–4.

[20] *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 82. *V.C.H. Lanc.*, i, 358. Norman Moore, *Hist. of St. Barts*, i, 95, 96, shows a son Henry.

justice, Ranulf Glanville,[21] who left by his wife Bertha, daughter of Theobald de Valognes, three daughters, Maud, who married Sir William de Auberville, Amabilia, who married Ralf de Arderne, and Helewise, who married Robert Fitz Robert. The heirs of Maud and Helewise seem after a generation or two to have passed into the female line, but the Ardernes flourished for several generations.[22] They were apparently London landowners. Thomas de Ardern and Thomas his son gave the church of St. George in Southwark to Bermondsey priory in 1122,[23] and the church of St. Olave Jewry and two parts of the chapel of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, were within their fee.[24] They also held property in the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles, which was within the soke of the King of Scotland.[25] Ralf and Amabilia died during the last few years of the twelfth century, and were succeeded by Thomas, their son, who died between 1228 and 1233.[26] He and his wife Lucy left a son Ralf, who married before 1217 Alina, one of the co-heirs of Stephen de Beauchamp of Essex,[27] and was sheriff of Essex and Herts in 1254. Alina died after 1241, and Ralf in his old age seems to have married Ernburga and had by her a son and heir, Thomas. Ralf died before 1275, as we find his widow was then the wife of Richard de Coleworth.[28] It was Thomas

[21] He and Glanville were constantly associated on the bench, *Pipe Roll Soc.*, vol. xvii (16 Hen. II) and subsequent volumes. He had charge of the King of Scotland after he was taken prisoner at Alnwick in 1174.

[22] Foss, *Judges of Engl.*, i, 376.

[23] *Annales Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 433.

[24] Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i, 512.

[25] Norman Moore, *Hist. of St. Barts*, i, 225.

[26] *Bracton's Note-Book* (ed. Maitland), Nos. 284, 738.

[27] Close Roll, 2 Hen. III, m. 27d ; *Pipe Roll Soc.*, Rot. de Dominabus, 61, 68 ; *Cal. of Doc. Scott.*, i, 1536.

[28] *Cal. Close Roll*, 1275, p. 252.

their son who, apparently, first laid claim to the hereditary aldermanry, and leased it for life to Anketin de Auvergne and sold it in 1277 to Ralf le Fevre.

Whatever the nature of the claim by the Ardernes to the aldermanry may have been, it was only temporarily successful and had no permanent effect on the ward itself nor upon any other ward, saving that it has given the only personal name to a London ward which has survived.

CHAPTER VII

EARLY GOVERNMENT

The development of the government of London is an obscure and difficult subject to explore, the sources of information being few and of an indefinite character. Our earliest evidence of Saxon administration goes back to the seventh century, when London was the chief town of the East Saxon kingdom and the residence of the King and Bishop, who together had the direct rule over it. As the place of the King's residence it would be under the special protection of his peace and the maintenance of that peace was in the hands of the King's reeve, appointed presumably by the Crown. The earliest reference to this officer, described as the King's wic-gerefa, is in the latter part of the seventh century, when we find that he supervised the markets and held his courts in the King's hall.[1]

The area of the jurisdiction of the King's reeve probably extended far beyond the city. All the larger towns, both in this country and on the Continent, had varying degrees of authority over wide tracts of land outside their walls. The districts dependent upon Bath, Winchester and Southampton, as Mr. Chadwick points out, were as large as counties, while that dependent upon Wallingford seems to have been identical with Berkshire.[2] The settlement of the district which

[1] Thorpe, *Anct. Laws and Instit.* (Rec. Com.), p. 14.
[2] Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, 236.

Middlesex covers was late, the land being forest, over which, and in the Chiltern district and in Surrey, the citizens of London had their chaces and enjoyed privileges of hunting down to the time of Henry I and later.[3] In the twelfth century, and probably long before, the citizens also had rights over the Thames from the county boundary at Staines to the Medway. Some sort of jurisdiction would undoubtedly go with these rights, so that when the government of London was given by Alfred to his son-in-law Ethelred, Middlesex, although never apparently a kingdom, formed a convenient area for a shire and one of the smaller earldoms attached to the earldom of Mercia.[4] In the eleventh century Middlesex reverted to its old associations with Essex and its earldom was given to Harold, who held it with that of Essex.[5] Harold was succeeded in both the greater and lesser earldoms by his brother Leofwine,[6] who fell with him at the Battle of Hastings. William the Conqueror kept the earldom of Essex in his own hands, and it was not granted out until Stephen created Geoffrey de Mandeville earl in 1140, but Middlesex had then ceased to be attached to it.

On the formation of the great earldoms in the tenth century, it was found necessary, as Mr. Chadwick thinks, to appoint a sheriff to take the place of the earl in each shire.[7] Middlesex, which may well have been the district dependent

[3] Birch, *Hist. Charters*, p. 4. Fitz Stephen, writing in the latter part of the twelfth century, adds Hertfordshire and part of Kent to the water of Cray. *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, pt. i, p. 14.

[4] Ante pp. 38–9, chap. ii. It was the land of the Middle Saxons, surrounded by the lands of the East Saxons or Essex, the men of Kent, the men south of the River or Surrey, the South Saxons or Sussex, the West Saxons or Wessex and the Mercians. It is first mentioned under 851. Asser, *Life of Alfred*, chap. ii.

[5] Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, iv, No. 855. [6] *Ibid.*, Nos. 858, 860.

[7] Chadwick, op. cit., 230–3.

on London and already in the jurisdiction of the portreeve, became at this time a shire, and therefore the portreeve of London would merely change the name of his office to " shire-reeve " when acting outside the city. The identity of the portreeve of London with the sheriff of Middlesex, a point that has solved many difficulties with regard to the early administration of London, has been proved by Mr. Round.[8] Thus we can show that Ulf, sheriff of Middlesex about 1045, the earliest whose name has survived, was the same person as Ulf, the portreeve of London.[9]

The portreeve remained the chief official of London until probably the time of Cnut, when an important alteration seems to have taken place in the government, not only of the city but of some of the counties in the south-east of England. This change was effected by the introduction of the staller (*steallhere* or lord of the stable) whose office, as its title implies, resembled that of the Norman constable (*comes stabuli*).[10]

To understand the position of the staller we must go to the source whence the office is derived. In Scandinavia the staller was one of the highest officials of the King's " hird " or court. At first he ranked after the " lændermænd " or baronage, but eventually he was admitted to that body. Although originally the duties of the staller, like those of the constable, were to look after the king's horses and arrange for his journeys as the master of the stable, yet, like all other offices of personal service to the king, its importance constantly grew. The staller as one of the " lændermænd " had the right to bear the king's sword in processions when the King wore his crown or

[8] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 347 *et seq.*
[9] Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, iv., Nos. 843, 872.
[10] Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, i, 383–4.

garland on high feast days, if it was not so borne by an earl.[11] In England it was the special duty of the staller to act as the king's banner-bearer (*regni vexillifer*),[12] but in Scandinavia this office was performed by the " merkesmen " who held rank next below the stallers.[13] The staller in Scandinavia also had his " stallara-stol " on the lesser high seat opposite the King, and spoke on behalf of the king at the " thing " and " hird-steona " or meeting of the " hird " or court, and kept order in the courts.[14] These latter duties in England would correspond perhaps to the staller's office of keeper of the King's hall (*regie procurator aule*)[15]. From the number of stallers and the manner in which they are referred to, it would seem obvious that in England, at all events, the staller had a local position. As, after the Conquest, each castle had its constable, so, before that event, certain counties in the south-east of England, as military centres, seem to have had their stallers or leaders of the host whose office included a wide sphere of duties. Thus we find reference to stallers for London and Middlesex,[16] Herts,[17] Essex,[18] Kent,[19] and Hampshire,[20] and several per-

[11] P. A. Munch, *Det. Norske Folks Historie*, 1858, vol. i, pt. iv, pp. 598–9.

[12] F. Michel, *Chron. Angl. Norm.*, ii, 234.

[13] Munch, op. cit., pt. ii, p. 992.

[14] *Ibid.*, pt. iv, pp. 601–2; pt. ii, 992; Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifte*, 1866, p. 78.

[15] Michel, loc. cit.; *Cod. Dip.*, iv, No. 813, in which Ansgar or Esgar the staller is so described.

[16] Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, 855, 872. Charters addressed to Bishop, Earl, Esgar the staller and all thegns, etc., of Middlesex or burhthegns of London.

[17] *Ibid.*, 864. To Bishop, Earl, Esgar the staller and all thegns, etc., of Hertfordshire.

[18] *Ibid.*, 859. To Bishop, Earl, Robert the staller and all thegns in Essex.

[19] *Ibid.*, 828. To Archbishop, Bishop of Rochester, Earl, Esgar the staller and Robert son of Wymarc staller and all thegns of Kent.

[20] *Ibid.*, 845. To Archbishop, Earl, Eadnoth the staller and all thegns, etc., of Southampton.

sons described as stallers whose office is not located.[21] The rank of these stallers is shown by the addresses of the writ form of Saxon charters in which they precede[22] or take the position of sheriffs.[23] Their military duties corresponded to those of the constable, for like that officer they carried the king's banner[24] and led a host in battle as a constable did his "constabulary" of ten knights.[25] Like the constable also they had their judicial and administrative duties.[26]

A full description of the privileges and duties of a staller of London seems to be found in the claims of Robert Fitz Walter of Castle Baynard, made, but not allowed, in 1303.[27] All his rights are based upon his claim to be chief banneret or banner-bearer of London, and such rights were probably exercised by the lords of Castle Baynard before they parted with the site of their castle in 1275. In the time of war he with nineteen attendant knights, twenty in all, equalling two constabularies of ten knights each, had to attend mounted and caparisoned at the great gate of St. Paul's with his banner bearing his arms displayed. At St. Paul's he was met by the mayor, sheriffs and aldermen armed, the mayor carrying the banner of London, bearing the figure of St. Paul in gold, holding a sword, with the feet, hands and head of the figure in silver, all on a

[21] Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, ii, 52–3.

[22] Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, No. 843. Charters addressed to Rodberd the bishop, Osgod Clapa, Ulf the sheriff, all thegns and friends.

[23] *Ibid.*, Nos. 828, 845, 855, 859, 864, 872. Charters addressed to Bishop, Earl, staller and thegns.

[24] Fran. Michel, *Chronique Anglo-Normandes*, ii, 233.

[25] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 155.

[26] Cf. W. Stubbs, *Lectures on Early English History* (ed. A. Hassall), p. 330. The constable of the Tower as King's representative seems to have had certain judicial duties. *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), vol. ii, pt. i, p. 288.

[27] The history of the claims are set out by H. T. Riley in his Introduction to *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), vol. ii, pt. i, pp. lxxvi–lxxxiv.

field of red. Robert then dismounted and saluted the mayor, saying, "Sir Mayor, I am come to do my service that I owe to the city," and the mayor, sheriffs and aldermen replied, "We deliver to you here, as to our banneret in fee of this city, this banner of the city to bear, carry and govern to the honour and profit of our city to the best of your power." Robert then retired to the gate of St. Paul's, where the mayor and sheriffs presented him with a horse of the value of £20, furnished with a saddle bearing his arms, which he mounted, carrying the banner of London. A marshal was chosen from the host, and the communal bell or the great bell in the belfry in St. Paul's churchyard was rung to summon the citizens to assemble and follow the banner. Robert, carrying the banner, led the host to Aldgate. The banner was then handed to one of the host and Robert, the mayor and two wise men from each ward went to the Priory of Holy Trinity to provide for the guarding of the city in the absence of the banneret and the host. For every city or castle that the host of London besieged Robert should have 100s. for his trouble and no more.[28] These war-time services of the lord of Castle Baynard, as banner-bearer and leader of the host, would seem to be in accordance with the duties of a staller and a constable.

In the time of peace Fitz Walter held his soke, covering the parish of St. Andrew, and had there his sokeman or soke-reeve. If any one of his soke was impleaded in the Gildhall, upon any indictment other than that for an assault on the mayor or sheriffs, the mayor and citizens on demand of his soke-reeve were bound to give him a court, a rule which was possibly common to all the older and larger sokes. Robert had his stocks and prison in his soke; offenders, however,

[28] *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 147–9.

were tried before the mayor at the Gildhall, but sentenced in the court of the soke. The punishment for anyone convicted of treason, a particularly heinous offence in a military soke, was to be bound to a pillar for mooring ships in the Thames at Wood Wharf and left there for two floods and two ebbs.[29] A robber taken in the soke was to be hanged at the Elms at Smithfield. Robert had the privilege of being invited to the meeting of the Great Council of the city and to be sworn a member of it. When he entered the husting in the Gildhall the mayor rose to do him honour and gave him a seat beside him. So long as he remained in the Gildhall all judgments were given by his mouth.[30]

Here we have perhaps the survival of the position of the Scandinavian staller who was the mouthpiece of the King in the "thing" and at the meetings of the "hird."[31] The position of the lord of the soke of Castle Baynard was, it would seem, that of the pre-Conquest staller and post-Conquest constable and local justiciar, the duties of which last office, like those of the justiciar of England, were military, judicial and administrative.[32]

With regard to the areas of the authority of the stallers, we know that immediately after the Conquest there were two castles at London, the Tower to protect its eastern approaches and Castle Baynard those on the west. It seems probable, and there is some slight evidence, that forts existed on these sites at an early date;[33] indeed, when the south

[29] Riley points out that a similar punishment, of Scandinavian or Teutonic origin probably, was inflicted upon the freemen of the Cinque Ports. *Ibid.*, p. lxxxiv.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 149–51.

[31] P. A. Munch, op. cit., pt. iv, 601–2; pt. ii, 992; Keyser, op. cit., 78.

[32] Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.* (4th ed.), i, 374–80.

[33] *Will. of Poitiers* (Caxton Soc., pp. 147–8) refers to fortifications possibly at the eastern side which had been made in the city when William I first

wall was breached or demolished, as it must have been for access to the increasing number of wharves and the development of shipping,[34] forts here would be necessary for the safety of the city. From an early date there was an eastern and western district in London which may indicate the division between two stallerships. The lordship of the Thames above London to Staines with the right to the weirs there, was claimed by Robert Fitz Richard, lord of Castle Baynard, in 1136 as the king's banner-bearer (which office, as we have seen, belonged to the staller) and as guardian of the whole city of London.[35] Rights in the weirs, and therefore apparently in the lordship of the river below London and in the Medway, seem by the charters of Richard I in 1197 and of John in 1199 to have belonged to the office of warden or constable of the Tower of London.[36] Further, we know that the Walbrook, which would well form the division between the two staller-

passed through it. There is a story that Cnut spent Christmas, 1017, at a fort on the site of Castle Baynard, where he caused Edric of Mercia to be put to death. Rich. of Cirencester, *Speculum Historiale* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 172; Matth. Paris, *Chron. Majora*, i, 500.

[34] The south wall was standing at Queenhithe in the time of Alfred (see p. 131), but it was probably demolished shortly afterwards. It could hardly have existed when the churches of St. Magnus and All Hallows the Great were built outside the line of it, and they are both probably pre-Conquest churches (*Dep. Keeper's Rep.*, xxix, 35; *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, i, 490).

[35] Mary Bateson, *A London Municipal Collection* (*Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 485, July, 1902).

[36] Birch, *Charters of the City of London*, pp. 9, 13. The charter of 1197 quitclaims to the citizens all that the warden of the Tower was wont to receive yearly from all weirs in the Thames. The charter of 1199 extends the privilege to receipts which the wardens of the Tower of London were wont to have from weirs in the Thames and Medway. As the lordship of the Thames above Castle Baynard belonged to the Fitz Walters these charters must refer to the river below London. In 1382 the rights of the Constable of the Tower extended to London Bridge. *Cal. of Close Rolls*, Rich. II, 1381–5, p. 178.

ships, divided London into two very distinct and almost equal districts. Each of these districts had its separate market-place, its separate wharves with different customs, and its different rules for bakers and sellers of other provisions; and each side supplied eighteen sworn men to form the thirty-six selected for the purgation by the Lex Magna of those accused of the greater crimes.[37] More important perhaps was the division which the Walbrook afforded for separating the wards into two groups for assessments and other purposes,[38] a system which was in use as late as the time of Stow.[39] In this way London, like many French cities, was, before the eleventh century, composed of the "cité" with its royal residence and cathedral establishment on the west, and the "bourg" with its mercantile population and institutions on the east.

Attention has already been called to the position of the staller in the addresses of the writ-form of charters of the Anglo-Saxon period. In the like charters of the latter part of the eleventh century and first half of the twelfth century a similar position, as has been pointed out by Mr. Round, was occupied by the local justiciar.[40] This position is shown in five charters to St. Martin's le Grand confirmed by Edward III which are addressed in slightly varying forms by Henry I and Stephen to the Bishop of London and the justiciar and sheriff and all barons and faithful subjects of London or Essex (*episcopo et justicie et vicecomiti et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis*)[41] In the majority of the charters of this nature, however,

[37] *Mun. Gild. London* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. 56; ii, pt. i, p. 321.

[38] Sharpe, *Cal. to Letter-Bk. L.*, 143–4.

[39] Stow, *Surv. of London* (ed. Kingsford), i, 118, 238. See also summons of twelve men from every ward "as well this side of the Walbrook as beyond." *Cal. of Pat.*, 1247–58, p. 160.

[40] Round, *Commune of London*, 109; *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 110–111.

[41] *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, 1341–1417, pp. 16–18.

the name of the justiciar is given without description, and the charters are addressed to the bishop, then to a person who in many cases can be shown to have been the local justiciar, then to the sheriff usually by name and description, and finally in general terms.

It is difficult to make a differentiation between the duties of the staller, the local justiciar and the sheriff, except perhaps that the duty of leading the host and carrying the King's banner is especially assigned to the staller. In each case the office was judicial, military and administrative. It might perhaps have been suggested that the military, judicial and administrative duties belonged to the staller and justiciar and the financial responsibilities fell to the sheriff, did we not find by the Pipe Roll of 1130 that Fulcred Fitz Walter, a justiciar, was responsible for a part at all events of the farm of London.[42] No doubt these offices had their origin in that system of double administration which Dr. Stubbs, in dealing with the relation of the sheriff to the ealdorman, points out was almost peculiar to England.[43] Before the Conquest the sheriff was the deputy in a shire to the earl who ruled several shires, and later to the staller who also in some instances governed two or three shires. After the Conquest the local justiciar seems to have occupied the position of the staller, and like him frequently ruled over two or more counties at a time. But the new military organization, caused by the introduction of Norman castles, which brought with it the new office of constable of the castle, gave rise to a difficulty as to the military command. For a time this difficulty was overcome, in some counties at all events, by making the local

[42] *Rot. Magn. Pip.*, 31 Hen. I (Rec. Com.), 144.
[43] *Constit. Hist.* (4th ed.), i, 127.

justiciar or sheriff, the constable or warden of the county castle.[44] The sheriff still remained subordinate to the staller's successor, the justiciar, until the end of Stephen's reign, when in London, both offices being filled from the same class and occupying the same position, were merged into the shrievalty.

This theory gives a reason for the confusion which it will be seen existed in London and elsewhere regarding the two offices. Writs were addressed indiscriminately to the staller and later to the justiciar, or to the sheriff or to one or other of them; and those who are known to have been justiciars are not infrequently described in such addresses and otherwise as sheriffs. Again, in some charters to Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, granted by Henry I, Stephen and Henry II, the address is to the Bishop of London, the sheriff and reeve and all barons and faithful subjects of London and Middlesex (*episcopo London' et vic' et preposito et omnibus baronibus, etc.*)[45] Here apparently the sheriff and reeve represent the justiciar and portreeve or sheriff, or, as they are called by Stow,[46] the portgrave, portreeve or sheriff and the provost. As will be noticed, all these terms are used throughout the twelfth century and also before and after, with considerable looseness.

Probably the earliest reference to a staller of London is in the reign of Cnut, when Tofig the Proud, a Danish magnate and standard bearer to the King, seems to have had the office to which, at his death, his son Athelstan succeeded.[47] Tofig

[44] Mr. Round calls attention to the association of the custody of the castle in the county town with the shrievalty. *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 439.

[45] Rymer, *Fœdera* (ed. 1816), pp. 11, 17, 41. In the first and last we have vic' et preposito, and in the second vicecomitibus et prepositis. See also *Chron. Mon. de Abingdon* (Rolls Ser.), i, 76.

[46] Stow, op. cit., ii, 147–8.

[47] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vi, 56; Franc. Michel, *Chron. Anglo-Norm.*, ii, 226–35.

lived at Waltham, and married in 1042, as his second wife, Githa, daughter of Osgod Clapa, also a staller, apparently of London and Middlesex.[48] Athelstan forfeited his lands, probably by joining his stepmother's father, Osgod, in his rebellion at the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confessor, but, we are told, he retained the stallership.[49] His son, the famous Ansgar or Esgar the staller, was apparently exercising the office of staller before his father's forfeiture and at the same time as Osgod Clapa. A charter, the date of which must be assigned to 1042–4, is addressed by Edward the Confessor to Ælfward the bishop (of London) and "Esgar" (or Ansgar) the staller and all the burhthegns of London, confirming to St. Peter of Westminster the land and wharf which Ulf, the "porterif," and Kenegif, his wife, had given for the health of their souls.[50] In this it will be seen that Ansgar or Esgar is addressed as staller, and although Ulf is mentioned as portreeve, he does not appear in the address. Wulfgar, the portreeve, mentioned in a corrupt charter of 1042–3 to the cnightengild, is possibly the same person as Ulf.[51] Another charter, the date of which must be between 1044 and 1046, is addressed to Robert (de Jumièges), Bishop (of London), Osgod Clapa, Ulf, the sheriff, and all the thegns in Middlesex.[52] In this again we find that Osgod Clapa, who we know was a staller,[53] takes the position assigned to that officer before the

[48] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, 1046; Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, iv, No. 843, where he takes the position of a staller of Middlesex. He is a witness (wrongly transcribed Osgod Clawe) to a charter of about 1035–8. Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 296.

[49] Fran. Michel, op. cit., 227.

[50] *Cod. Dip.*, No. 872. The date is fixed as Edward came to the throne in 1042, and Bishop Ælfward retired in 1044.

[51] *Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, v, 480–1.

[52] *Cod. Dip.*, No. 843. Bishop Robert did not succeed until 1044 and Osgod was outlawed in 1046. [53] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, anno 1046.

sheriff Ulf, who was still in office. Ansgar held the stallership probably continuously until after the Conquest; at first perhaps only for the eastern part of London, but later, probably after the forfeiture of Osgod, for the whole city. He appears again as staller in a Middlesex charter of 1052–3, in its address to William, the Bishop (of London), Harold, the Earl (of Middlesex) and " Esgar " the staller and all the King's thegns and friends of Middlesex.[54] We know he acted as staller of London[55] at the time of the Conquest. He was also staller of Hertfordshire[56] about 1057 and of Kent[57] in 1066; he was further described as minister of the King (*minister regis*)[58] and keeper of the King's hall (*regie procurator aule*)[59] an office belonging to the stallery.

During this period there is no complete list of sheriffs or portreeves of London and Middlesex, but we have mention later of Ælfget " sirefa "[60] (1051–66), Suetman portreeve[61] (1058–66) and Leofstan and Ælsig " porterefan "[62] (1051–66). Leofstan was portreeve in 1054, probably continuing in office until about 1065,[63] and may be the same as Leofstan, the reeve, who is entered in Domesday Book as holding lands in Essex in the time of King Edward.[64] All these sheriffs appear in the addresses of charters with the bishop and sometimes with the earl, but except for the instance of Ulf, already quoted, not with the staller, although Ansgar was apparently staller contemporaneously.

William, we may be sure, would have had no sympathy

[54] *Cod. Dip.*, iv, No. 855.
[55] See p. 61.
[56] *Cod. Dip.*, iv, No. 864.
[57] *Ibid.*, 828.
[58] *Ibid.*, 801, 806, 810, 811, 824, 825.
[59] *Ibid.*, 813.
[60] *Ibid.*, 858.
[61] *Ibid.*, 856.
[62] *Ibid.*, 857, 861.
[63] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, i, 97. Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, v, 469.
[64] *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 554b.

with the Scandinavian organization which the office of staller represented, and probably about the middle of his reign, or earlier, abolished it and introduced in its place the Norman offices of constable and local justiciar. The constableships of the castles at London, Colchester, Hertford and elsewhere were, by reason of their Norman origin, new offices, but carried with them some of the duties and privileges of the staller. William therefore appointed to the offices of both constable of the county castles and local justiciar his representatives in the counties who claimed the office of staller. Thus we can trace the existence of local justiciars in some of the south-eastern counties where stallers previously existed. In Essex, Robert Fitz Wimarc, who was staller in the reigns of Edward the Confessor[65] and William I, was succeeded by his son Sweyn, whether by hereditary right we do not know.[66] Ralf Baynard of Castle Baynard, who held office in Essex as well as in London, was succeeded at the time of the Survey by Peter de Valognes, and he was followed probably by Geoffrey de Mandeville (I), who held the offices of justiciar and sheriff of Essex towards the end of the eleventh century, as recited in the charter to his grandson.[67] At the beginning of the next century Hugh de Bocland or Buckland, who died about 1115, was justiciar of Essex,[68] and was followed by Richard de Lucy in the reign of Stephen.[69] In Hertfordshire, another county

[65] *Cod. Dip.*, iv, 859.

[66] *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 345. Sweyn had a son Robert of Essex whose son Henry of Essex carried the royal standard, apparently as staller, and for losing it in battle forfeited his lands to Henry II. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 50.

[67] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 142.

[68] *Cart. of St. John's, Colchester* (Roxburgh Soc.), i, 24, 27.

[69] Round, *Commune of London*, 109. See writ addressed Ricardo de Luci et vicecomiti Essexie. See also a like address by Maud the Queen in a confirmation to St. Martin's. *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, 1341–1417, p. 18.

in which Ansgar was staller before the Conquest, Peter de Valognes was in 1080–6 addressed in the style belonging to a justiciar.[70] Geoffrey de Mandeville afterwards held the offices of justiciar and sheriff of this county,[71] and was again succeeded by Hugh de Buckland.

In London we can trace the early administration under justiciars and sheriffs, or as Stow calls them portgraves and provosts. There can be little doubt that Gosfrid, the portreeve or sheriff of London and Middlesex referred to in early Norman charters,[72] was no other than Geoffrey de Mandeville, who continued to hold the office of portreeve or sheriff throughout the Conqueror's reign. What happened with regard to the stallership immediately after the Conquest is uncertain. It may well have been in abeyance for a time after the forfeiture or possibly the death of Ansgar, and the constableship would not come into existence until the works at the Tower and Castle Baynard were sufficiently advanced to make that office necessary. Shortly after the Conquest, however, we find Geoffrey de Mandeville occupying the position assigned to the pre-Conquest staller and post-Conquest justiciar. We know he succeeded to the property of Ansgar, and probably claimed to hold Ansgar's office of staller in London which we are told was held by his great-grandson William, Earl of Essex.[73] The position of the first Geoffrey de Mandeville as local justiciar is shown in four royal charters all relating to Westminster, for only one of which, unfortunately, the genuineness can be vouched. The address of these charters runs, to the Bishop

[70] Davis, op. cit., i, 235.

[71] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 142.

[72] Davis, op. cit., i, Nos. 15, 39, 265; see also addresses in Nos. 89, 93, 144, 202, 216, 278, 306, 444. Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 439.

[73] Fran. Michel, loc. cit.

of London and Geoffrey de Mandeville *and* the sheriff and all ministers, etc., of London or Middlesex (*Gosfrido de Magna Villa et vicecomiti omnibusque ministris et fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis in Middelsexan*).[74] By these addresses it will be seen that Geoffrey de Mandeville held a position above and distinct from that of the sheriff, which is the place of a local justiciar. At the same time we find Ralf Baynard, lord of Castle Baynard, addressed as the principal official of London in a charter of a date between 1075 and 1085 to St. Martin's le Grand on the western side of the city,[75] while in 1100–1 Hugh de Buckland and William Baynard are jointly addressed in a similar manner in a charter made by Henry I to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, as to rights in London.[76] Thus perhaps we have two justiciars representing two earlier stallerships, the one on the eastern and the other on the western side of London. This arrangement did not, however, last for long, and was probably unworkable.

William, having abolished the stallerships of London, apparently appointed, during pleasure, the owners of the sokes to which the stallerships had been attached to the new offices of constable and justiciar as a matter of policy and convenience. The less important castle on the west was held in fee by the Baynards and later by the Fitz Walters, so that they were as a matter of right constables of it ; and although, as we have seen, they made claim to rights over London, such claims do not seem to have been pressed and were never

[74] Davis, op. cit., Nos. 89, 144, 216, 306. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, pp. 129, 137.

[75] Davis, op. cit., No. 211 ; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1341–1417, p. 16.

[76] H. Rex Anglorum Hugoni de Bocland et Will' Baignardo et omnibus ministris meis Londonie. Rymer, *Fœdera* (ed. 1816), p. 12. As Hugh, Earl of Chester, was a witness the date is limited to 1100–1.

pursued in opposition to the interests of the citizens. As we have seen, however, both Ralf and William Baynard probably for a short time acted as justiciars of London. The Tower of London, on the other hand, was a royal castle built partly on the soke of Weremansacre, which was apparently held by the Mandevilles as successors to Ansgar, who seems to have had an hereditary right to the stallership. There is no evidence whether the first Geoffrey de Mandeville ever had the constableship of the Tower, but we know that his son held it during his father's lifetime and his grandson followed in the office. It would appear that the first Geoffrey was unable to obtain recognition of a claim to the office of justiciar of London as successor to Ansgar the staller, but for a time, probably at the end of the reign of the Conqueror and the beginning of that of Rufus,[77] he succeeded in obtaining the justiciarship and shrievalty of the whole of London and Middlesex at farm, as we learn from a charter to his grandson.[78] He himself took the superior office of justiciar and apparently appointed a deputy in that of sheriff or portreeve. We have reference to Roger, sheriff of Middlesex, in 1086,[79] and to R. Delpare or Richard de Par or del Pare who seems to have been sheriff during Geoffrey's justiciarship in the time of William II, but we have no further information about either of them.[80]

The disturbances in London of 1088–9 attributed to the rebellion of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, a somewhat remote cause, may have had their origin in Geoffrey's aggressive

[77] It must have been between the dates of the charters addressed to the two Baynards already referred to.

[78] See recital in charter to Geoffrey de Mandeville the grandson in Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 141–2.

[79] *Domesday Bk.* (Rec. Com.), 127.

[80] Davis, op. cit., No. 444. Stow, op. cit., ii, 148, 382. The name is probably corrupt.

methods. Towards the end of his reign, Rufus was in great straits for money to pay for his extravagant building schemes at the Tower, London Bridge and Westminster. It would seem probable that the citizens did what they so frequently did later, and took the opportunity of relieving the crown of its embarrassments by the purchase of liberties or relief from oppression. In any case Geoffrey de Mandeville ceased to hold the office of justiciar and sheriff at this time. He was succeeded as justiciar by Hugh de Buckland, whom we find addressed late in the eleventh century in the manner customary to that office.[81] For a short time the office of justiciar of London was perhaps held jointly by Buckland and William Baynard, but this dual office does not appear again after the forfeiture of William Baynard. A little later (between 1103 and 1109) Robert Fitz Hamon and Hugh de Buckland are described as sheriffs of London and Kent.[82]

Towards the end of the eleventh century the works at the Tower of London were becoming sufficiently advanced to require a constable, and in 1101 William, son of Geoffrey de Mandeville, was holding that office,[83] probably in the place of his father, who may have been abroad. William de

[81] Davis, op. cit., No. 455; Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, p. 138. Charter, 1087–1100, of William II addressed to Hugh de Bockland *and* the sheriff of Middlesex. Geoffrey de Mandeville is one of the witnesses. See also charter of 1102–6 addressed in similar way. *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), vol. ii, pt. i, p. 340; and *Chron. Mon. de Abingdon* (Rolls Ser.), i, 76.

[82] Round, *Doc. France*, p. 503. Probably the order of names should be reversed.

[83] *Ordericus Vitalis*, iv, 108; Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 38. A charter was addressed (*c.* 1100–1) by Henry I to Hugh de Buckland, William the Chamberlain and William de Mandeville and all faithful subjects French and English of Middlesex, but there is nothing to indicate in what capacity Mandeville was so addressed unless as constable of the Tower. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 142.

Mandeville, so far as we know, had no other connexion with London, but his son, the second Geoffrey de Mandeville, held the constableship of the Tower with his other offices in London.

There is some uncertainty as to the succession of the justiciars and sheriffs of London from this date. Hugh de Buckland apparently continued to hold the office of justiciar into the early years of the twelfth century, possibly till his death about 1115,[84] and Reiner the reeve (*praepositus*) or portreeve of London is addressed with him in a charter of between 1100 and 1115.[85]

We have references to William de Einesford as sheriff about 1120, with John his undersheriff, and Gervase his clerk ;[86] Aubrey de Vere, perhaps as sheriff, but probably as justiciar,[87] and with him Roger, nephew of Hubert, as sheriff,[88] holding office before 1125. Stow also gives Robert Bar Querel (Buckerel ?) as provost or sheriff serving with Aubrey de Vere.[89] Ralf Fitz Everard was sheriff about 1125–8[90] and Fulcred Fitz Walter at Michaelmas 1128–9[91] but he

[84] See evidence of date of his death in 1115 in Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*. Select charters, Nos. 37, 38. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* gives 1119. In evidence of his retention of the office of justiciar may be quoted a charter to St. Paul's addressed to him which has Randulph the chancellor as a witness and cannot therefore be much earlier than the date of his death. Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 305.

[85] *Chron. Mon. de Abingdon* (Rolls Ser.), i, 76. Stow, op. cit., ii, 148, gives Leofstan the goldsmith as "provost" or sheriff serving with him, but he has apparently confused two persons of this name.

[86] *Ramsey Cart.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 139.

[87] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vi, 155.

[88] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 309.

[89] Stow, op. cit., ii, 148. See also Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 156.

[90] *Magn. Rot. Pip.* (Rec. Com.), 144 ; *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xxxvii, 74.

[91] *Ibid.*

also held the office of justiciar with Eustace as his sheriff.[92] In 1130 William Lelutre, Geoffrey Buckerel, Ralf Fitz Herlwin and William de Balio were sheriffs.[93] Andrew Bocointe was justiciar about this time. We know he held office in 1137 and apparently vacated it in 1139.[94] He was succeeded in the justiciarship by Osbert Huitdeniers, the relative of the Beckets, who employed the murdered archbishop when a young man as his clerk. A charter, probably of 1139, is addressed to Huitdeniers by King Stephen in the manner already referred to, namely, "to Osbert Huitdeniers and all the barons and sheriffs of London,"[95] and again in 1141 "to Osbert Huitdeniers and the sheriff and citizens of London."[96] Huitdeniers may have had his relative Gilbert Becket, father of the archbishop, as his sheriff or portreeve during his justiciarship, for we know that Becket held that office.[97] In 1141 Huitdeniers was succeeded by Gervase de Cornhill, who is described as justiciar in a charter made to him in that year by Maud, Queen of Stephen.[98] At Christmas following (1141) Stephen granted the justiciarship and shrievalty of London to Geoffrey de Mandeville in fee and inheritance. We find Geoffrey, like his predecessor Ansgar, leading the host of London when it engaged the forces of the

[92] *Chron. abb. Rameseia* (Rolls Ser.), 280, where Hen. I addresses his charter to *Fulcheso filio Walteri et Eustachio Vicecomiti suo.* There is a reference to Eustace, nephew of Fulcred in 1142–3. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 62a. Leuric the reeve holding lands in Castle Baynard Ward, *c.* 1130, may have been a sheriff. Price, *Account of Gildhall*, p. 16.

[93] *Magn. Rot. Pip.*, 149; *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xxxvii, 74.

[94] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 309; *Commune of London*, 98, 108, 113; *Andreæ Buchuinte et Vicecomiti et civibus suis Londonie. Ibid.*, 110.

[95] Round, *Commune of London*, 114.

[96] *Ibid.*, 116.

[97] *Materials for Life of Beket* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 359.

[98] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 120–1.

Empress Maud at Winchester in 1141.[99] He held the justiciarship in his own hands, and described himself as justiciar of London in a charter of 1142–3.[1] Gilbert Prutfot served with him as sheriff at this time.[2] In 1143 Geoffrey forfeited his lands and surrendered his castles and offices. The office of justiciar of London seems to have been continued until the end of Stephen's reign, for we find references to it in 1152–3 in a charter to St. Martin's le Grand.[3] It was about this time abolished or merged into the office of sheriff.[4] The administrative and other duties were taken over by the two or more sheriffs thereafter appointed, until the establishment of the mayoralty altered the form of the city's government.

It will be noticed from this incomplete list of justiciars of London that there was a change in the nature of the office during the reign of Henry I, both as regards the rank of the holder and the tenure of the office. It is known that a part of Henry's policy was to raise men of lowly origin who were compliant to his wishes to the position of ministers and justices in order to counteract the powers of the feudal lords.[5] It may have been so in the case of London, but the change is perhaps more likely to have been brought about by pressure from the citizens themselves. The first Geoffrey de Mandeville, Hugh de Buckland, Aubrey de Vere and perhaps William de Einesford were feudal magnates holding high positions with

[99] *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (Camden Soc.), 201.

[1] Round, *Commune of London*, 118.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 62a; Round, *Commune of London*, 118. He held lands in Coleman Street Ward about 1130. Survey of St. Paul's lands. Price, *Account of the Gildhall*, p. 16 *et seq.*

[3] *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1341–1417, p. 17. See p. 196.

[4] Petit-Dutaillis thinks that the judicial part of its duties were undertaken by the justices in eyre, brought into existence about this time. *Studies Supplementary to Stubbs' Constit. Hist.* (Transl. W. E. Rhodes), 95.

[5] Cf. Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 110–11, quoting famous passage from Ordericus (xi, 2) describing Henry's ministers.

considerable power outside and entirely distinct from London; they held their office also, so far as our information goes, for several years consecutively. Such men could have given very little personal attention to the affairs of London, and being constantly in attendance on the King and having duties to perform elsewhere in this country and abroad, they could have had very slight sympathy with the aspirations and ambitions of the citizens.[6] Their successors, Bocointe, Huitdeniers and Gervase de Cornhill, on the other hand, were leading citizens of burgess origin, whose tenures of office were of short duration; such men would be in touch with all the movements then agitating London.

The sheriffs acting with the justiciars seem to have been of burgess rank, or possibly of the clerical class of that date. Those of the time of the earlier justiciars, if they did not continuously carry out the duties of the two offices, would take the lead in all civic functions during the frequent and prolonged absences of the justiciars, thus making the positions of both officers anomalous. The change in the condition of the justiciars may be consequent on this anomaly and suggests

[6] The position of Hugh de Buckland was an interesting case in point. In the Abingdon Chronicle it is said that Buckland was sheriff of eight counties, and we can trace him holding the office of sheriff or that of justiciar in seven, namely Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, London and Middlesex, and Oxfordshire. The eighth county may perhaps have been Sussex. (Compare Round, *Doc. France*, p. 40.) Of these counties there is evidence of his having been justiciar of London and Middlesex, Essex, Hertfordshire and Oxfordshire (*Chron. Mon. de Abingdon* (Rolls Ser.), i, 84), probably of Berkshire (Cf. addresses in *Ibid.*, 87, 90, 93), and possibly for the other counties. It is further stated in the Abingdon Chronicle that he held certain lands at Hanney in Berkshire as sheriff and because he had been made *publicarum justiciarius compellationum* by William II. The meaning of this phrase is obscure, but it points to the appointment of Buckland as justiciar or sheriff to all these counties for some special purpose, which may have been for the quieting of the people during the time of the heavy taxation of 1096. Cf. *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xxvi, 490.

perhaps an alteration in the administration of the city. The substitution of citizens of London for feudal magnates, implies an increase of power by the former ; and it is possible that the citizens had obtained the privilege of choosing their justiciar and sheriff before the date of the charter of Henry I, if indeed they had not elected their sheriff at a still earlier date. As will be shown later, there are indications of a further reorganisation of London government at this time, or perhaps at a little earlier date, by the institution, possibly, of aldermen of wards.

Although the shrievalty carried with it position and power it was an unenviable post for a Londoner. As the King's officer the sheriff had to exact all he could to enable him to pay his farm, and as a citizen he desired to keep in favour with his fellow-townsmen. Consequently there was usually a balance on the wrong side of his account at each Michaelmas, and for this reason two or more sheriffs were often appointed that they might share the deficit amongst them.[7] Yet so burdensome was the office that the four sheriffs appointed in 1130 paid fines that they might relinquish it.[8] These hardships formed one of the reasons, but not the chief, in favour of the citizens farming the shrievalty as a body.

This view of the early history of these offices may throw some light upon the events of Stephen's reign. Mr. Round has pointed out the tendency to set up quasi-hereditary claims.[9] Geoffrey de Mandeville probably had Ansgar's title to a stallership,[10] which was of this nature, and upon it

[7] Round, *Commune of London*, 231.

[8] *Magn. Rotul. Pip.*, 31 Hen. I (Rec. Com.), 149.

[9] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 154.

[10] De inventione sanctæ crucis Walthamensis. Fran. Michel, *Chron. Norm.*, ii, 227, where Geoffrey's descendant is said to hold the office of staller.

he no doubt based his claims to the constableship of the Tower and justiciarship of London. He wanted, however, to obtain the feudal lordship over London which only the possession of the shrievalty also could give him. The Londoners strongly resisted his attempts to place them under his rule, with the results that have already been shown.

The staller, as we have seen, was the military commander of London, and under him possibly were knights or captains, already referred to,[11] who later perhaps formed two constabularies of ten knights each. The reorganisation of the city militia must be assigned to Alfred. He it was who instilled into the ranks of the middle classes the nobility of military service and the duty of defending their homes. He, probably, encouraged merchants to become thegns and "cnihts" or knights, a rank but slightly subordinate to a thegn, both of whom had to follow the King to war when he raised his banner. The gild of these "cnihts" which existed in London cannot be traced back to Alfred's day, but a similar gild is apparently found at Canterbury as early as the reign of his elder brother Ethelbert (860–66).[12] In London the earliest evidence of the existence of the cnihtengild is in the time of Edgar (959–75), but considering the greater population and wealth of London compared with Canterbury, the probability is that the gild existed there before this time. Besides those at London and Canterbury

[11] See p. 190,

[12] Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, ii, No. ccxciii (taken from Cart. Cantuar., M. 369). The charter is mutilated and the place to which it refers is obliterated, but it seems to form one of a group of four charters relating to Canterbury, and five out of its eleven witnesses sign also for the three charters which undoubtedly refer to Canterbury.

there were cnihtengilds at Winchester, Exeter and Cambridge[13] and probably at other important towns. We know very little of the organisation of these gilds, but their existence goes to show that there were " cnihts " or soldiers trained as leaders of those owing military service for the protection of the towns where they were established. They had the usual rules common to most gilds of that date, as to feasting, protection and mutual help in cases of misfortune. The military obligations of the gildsmen were probably considered so obvious that they are not referred to in the rules and other evidences of their existence which have come down to us. The London cnihtengild held Portsoken, the soke of the port or city, which was situated on the eastern or most vulnerable side of London. Here, as might be expected, the city wall was most strongly fortified, which is shown by the greater number of bastions in comparison with other parts of the wall, and here, on the gild's land outside the walls, the " cnihts " and their men probably erected outworks. The southern end of this soke William chose for the site of his Tower or castle, and one at least of the tenants of the Portsoken, a successor perhaps of a " cniht," held by the service of castle-ward at the Tower.[14]

The cnihtengild was encouraged by Edward the Confessor, who confirmed its liberties in 1042–3, and it was maintained by the early Norman kings, William Rufus giving it a charter and Henry I confirming its rights by a charter dated between 1100 and 1107.[15] But the Norman system of military defence,

[13] At Cambridge there were ten wards which, if there was a knight for each, would form one constabulary.

[14] *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.) 413.

[15] *Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, v, 483, 488–9. Much of the information here used is taken from Mr. Coote's valuable paper on the gild.

particularly in towns, differed materially from that of the English. When the two Norman castles in London were completed and were manned, not by the citizens but by those owing the service of castle-ward from lands outside the city area, the military forces of London had to be reorganised. The English organisation was not, however, swept away, but was adapted to the Norman system. The citizens still had the charge of the walls and gates and the maintenance of law and order, and occasionally gave their service in the field. The English "cnihts" and their companies, as the first line of defence, were superseded by the garrisons at the two castles, and so they were demobilised and their gild dissolved. It would seem probable that their places were taken during the first quarter of the twelfth century by aldermen of wards, who make their appearance at this date,[16] and whose duties, as we shall see, were chiefly military. In 1125 fifteen burgesses of London, survivors or representatives of the English Cnihtengild, granted Portsoken, which comprised all the land of the gild, outside the wall from Aldgate to the Thames, to Christchurch or Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate.[17] Out of these fifteen burgesses, viz.: Ralf son of Algod, Wulward le Doverisshe, Orgar le Prude, Edward Up Cornhill, Blackstan, Alwyn Blackstan's cousin, Alwyn son of Leofstan, Robert son of Leofstan, Leofstan the Goldsmith, Wyzo son of Leofstan, Hugh son of Wulgar, Orgar son of Dereman, Algar Fecusenne, Osbert Drinchewyn and Adelard Hornewitesune, five—namely Ralf son of Algod, Blackstan, Hugh son of Wulgar, Algar Fecusenne and Osbert Drinchewyn—can be

[16] Earliest reference to an alderman of a ward is in a deed dated 1111 *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 67b, 68a.

[17] *Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, v, 477–8.

shown to have been aldermen of wards.[18] The remainder came from the governing and aldermanic families of London, and may very well have been aldermen also, but evidence of the aldermen at this date is scanty.

Professor Maitland suggests that we have in the alderman of the ward the military captain of the burgmen.[19] That this was so in London is shown by an account compiled probably about 1215 of the military organization of London at that date, but evidently based on a much earlier system. Each alderman was to call together to his wardmote all the men in his ward over fifteen years of age, who were to pay 2d. in the pound on the value of their movable chattels and debts, and 3d. in the pound for rents, with larger sums from foreigners, towards the defence of the city. Each alderman was to see to the arms of the men in his ward, and the names of all those whose arms were defective should be handed to the mayor and barons. As many of the men as were able were to be mounted. The unit of assembly was the parish, and every parish was to have a pennon and each alderman a banner, the men of each parish being grouped around the pennon of that parish and the whole ward was to follow the banner of the alderman to whatever place it should be appointed to go for the defence of the city.[20] Although no record of the duties of the Saxon "cnihts" has been preserved, they cannot, we imagine, have been very different from those performed by these aldermen. Thus we should have a well-organized military force, such as we know existed in London during the eleventh and

[18] For Blackstan see Anct. Deeds, A. 2419, and the rest appear in the St. Paul's list of wards of 1130. Price, *Account of the Gildhall*, p. 16.

[19] *Township and Borough*, 50.

[20] Mary Bateson, *London Municipal Coll. of the time of John*, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xvii (Oct. 1902), pp. 727–8, quoting Add. MS. 14,252.

twelfth centuries. The unit would be formed by the men of a parish under an officer carrying the pennon of the parish. The men of the parishes were grouped under wards, each ward under the command of an alderman, or at an earlier date probably a "cniht," carrying the banner of the ward, which wards, at one time, apparently numbering twenty,[21] would be again grouped possibly into two stallerships or constabularies each of ten knights under a staller or banneret carrying the banner of London.

With regard to the courts which maintained the jurisdiction of the officials of London, it would seem that they developed on the system of the shire, which system was being formed in the southern parts of England at the end of the ninth century. The wic-gerefa and his court probably remained unchanged until this time, when a reconstruction of the civic administration was begun as a result of Alfred's reorganization of London. This work was entrusted to the able hands of Ethelred, son-in-law of Alfred. It was doubtless a gradual process, carried out probably by the adaptation of the then existing institutions of early origin. This system, as it had developed in London by the early part of the eleventh century, consisted of the courts of the folkmote, the husting, and probably the wardmote and the sokemote, which courts approximately corresponded to the folkmote, shiremote and hundred and manor courts of the southern shires.

The folkmote may have been the descendant of the witenagemote of the kingdom of the East Saxons and became the popular court to which all the freemen of London were admitted. Like the national gemote and the burhgemote of Edgar's laws, it had its three principal meetings in the year,

[21] See p. 176.

which, we find at the beginning of the thirteenth century, were fixed for Christmas to arrange the wards for the purpose of keeping watch and ward, Midsummer for the protection of the city from fire[22] and Michaelmas for the election of sheriffs and to hear the charge ;[23] but the court could be summoned on any emergency. Its meetings were held in the open air, like all early Anglo-Saxon courts, in order to avoid the influence of spirits, which were thought to pervade a building. The place of assembly was on a piece of land to the south of Westcheap and north-east of St. Paul's Cathedral, where stood the belfry, to which the citizens had access in order to ring the great bell which summoned the freemen to the meetings. The citizens should be summoned by the beadle of the ward, but failing such notice there could be no excuse, as the ringing of the great bell was sufficient summons for all to attend.[24] The court was presided over by the Bishop of London and the King's reeve or portreeve, and was attended by the burhware or body of citizens, to which three categories of bishop, reeve and citizens, writs to be proclaimed in this court were addressed.[25] At the end of the reign of Stephen the bishops of London fell out of the addresses of the writs and probably ceased to attend the courts.[26] The proceedings of the court, like those of the folkmote of the shire, were principally administrative, and laws were promulgated and proclamations, particularly those of outlawries, were made at

[22] The fixed Midsummer meeting probably took the place of the movable Whitsuntide meeting of the national assembly.

[23] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 502.

[24] *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 118 ; ii, pt. i, p. 338–43 ; iii, p. 15.

[25] The writs addressed to the bishop, reeve or sheriff and burhthegns or barons were apparently intended for the husting.

[26] Cf. addresses of charters to Holy Trinity Priory, Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 152–6.

its meetings.[27] Dr. Stubbs thinks that possibly the sheriffs were at one time elected at the folkmotes of the shires,[28] and they may perhaps have been so chosen at the folkmotes of London before the Conquest. One of the chief privileges granted about 1132 to the citizens by the charter of Henry I, mainly a confirmation of existing rights, was that of the election of their sheriff, which we know was afterwards made at the folkmote. When the citizens were negotiating with the Empress Maud in 1141 they petitioned that they might be permitted to observe the laws of King Edward which were good, and not those of Henry, her father, which were severe.[29] It is hardly likely that the citizens would have petitioned for a reinstatement of Edward's laws if they contained anything less than had been granted to them by Henry I[30] with regard to such an important matter as the election of the sheriff.

The folkmote gradually declined after the appointment of a mayor, and its business became absorbed into the courts held at the Gildhall. In 1248, when the King seized the liberties of London, he commanded the barons of London not to admit new sheriffs should the citizens elect them at the following Michaelmas.[31] The final abandonment of the court came at that period of change during which the Crown held the liberties of London for thirteen years beginning in 1285. The principal assembly of the folkmote was at Michaelmas, for the election of the sheriffs, and as the Crown, while the liberties

[27] *Mun. Gild. London* (Rolls Ser.), i, 113.

[28] Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, i, 126. See pp. 83, 84.

[29] Flor. of Worc. under 1141.

[30] The charter of Henry I to London forms an important part of the Leges Henrici Primi. Dr. Reinhold Schmid, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, pp. 434–5.

[31] *Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1247–58, p. 26. The sheriffs were elected at the Michaelmas folkmote.

of London were in its hands, appointed the bailiffs, who took the place of the sheriffs, there would be no necessity to summon the court, and so it fell into disuse. After the citizens regained their liberties in 1298, the sheriffs were elected at the Gildhall and the folkmote ceased to meet.[32] By about 1310 the dean and chapter of St. Paul's had enclosed and built over the land where the court had been held, and the folkmote is heard of no more. Possibly the sheriff's court is the sole survival of the folkmote. At this court were heard pleas of covenants, debts, contracts, trespasses and pleas *de vetito namio* and like pleas by a sheriff without any aldermen or suitors.[33] The right to this court, it was claimed, went back to a period before the time of King Richard, to the "time whereof memory of man runneth not to the contrary," or time immemorial.

The origin of the court of husting of London is unknown. It was in existence at the latter part of the tenth century, when it is referred to in a grant by Ethelgiva, wife of Earl Ethelwine of East Anglia (968–85), in which she gave to Ramsey Abbey two silver cups of twelve marks *ad pondus hustingiæ Londoniensis*.[34] From this it would appear that the court was then a well-recognized institution, which had probably been in existence for some time and had standard weights. Its name, the hus-thing, or court held in a house or building,[35] distinguishes it from the folkmote which was held in the open air, and denotes an origin, perhaps Danish or Norse,[36] at a time when the influence of the northmen was strong.

[32] *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, pt. i, p. 338; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 49. [33] *Mun. Gild. London* (Rolls Ser.), ii, pt. i, 323.

[34] *Chron. Abb. Ramesiensis* (Rolls Ser.), p. 38.

[35] Maitland, *Domesday Bk. and Beyond*, 211.

[36] References to hustings are frequently to be met with in Scandinavia.

With the increasing volume of trade of the late ninth or early tenth century a want must have been felt for a speedier and more effective administration of the law than that which was afforded by the folkmote with only three regular meetings in a year. In the jurisdictions of the sokes surrounding the central and most important part of London, later known as the King's soke, a more expeditious system for the time had probably been established under the soke-reeves, and it would therefore become imperative to create a new court under the king's port-reeve for this central district in which the greater part of the trade of London was transacted. With a view to carry out this object a body of citizens, probably the principal merchants of London, seem to have formed themselves into a gild for mutual help in cases of theft and robbery and for dealing possibly with disputes among traders, as was the custom in the tenth century. It would appear that in the time of Athelstan (924–40) the members of this gild, known as the Frith Gild, had authority to hold a monthly court, as we may suppose at their gildhall,[37] where the business of the gild would be discussed and justice administered. The digest of the laws apparently in force at that court is contained in the document known as the *Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ*, the preamble of which states that "this is the ordinance which the bishops and the reeves belonging to London have ordained [which was] confirmed with pledges among our frith gildsmen as well 'eorlish' as 'ceorlish' in addition to the dooms which were enacted at [the witenagemotes at] Greatley, Exeter and Thundersfield."[38] The clauses which follow relate to the

[37] Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i, 15. The gildhall at this date would probably be in the central district of London.

[38] Thorpe, *Anct. Laws and Instit.*, p. 97.

duties of the gildsmen, mostly with regard to theft and robbery, and are based upon public laws. As Mr. Gross points out,[39] these laws are more than the ordinances of a frith gild, and the inference from the preamble is that they do not form a complete code in themselves, but are merely an addition to the national dooms enacted at the witenagemotes mentioned. These national and local laws would together form a system of law evidently intended to be administered at a court of recognized legal standing. The erection of such a court was no revolutionary proceeding even at the time of the Conquest, and would be less likely to be noticed a century or more earlier.[40] We know nothing more of this gild or its court, but the place of assembly of the husting of London as far back as our information goes was the gildhall, which it is supposed was the hall of the frith gild or its successor.[41] Further than this we learn from the preamble to the ordinances already quoted that the frithgildsmen were both "eorlish" and "ceorlish," terms which are used as qualifying descriptions of the thegns of Kent, who, at a gemote at Faversham, confirmed the laws enacted at Greatley.[42] Again Cnut, between 1013 and 1020, addressed the authorities of Kent as his thegns "twelfhynde" and "twihynde,"[43] which in other words signified "eorls" and "ceorls." Thus it may appear that the qualifying description used with regard to the frithgildsmen of London was that applied to the men of the rank of thegns. This leads to the suggestion that possibly the London frithgildsmen of Athelstan's day corresponded in

[39] Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i, 171, 178–82.
[40] Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 102.
[41] Green, *Conquest of England* (ed. 1899), i, 255.
[42] Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, i, 129–30.
[43] Kemble, *Saxons in England*, ii, 234 n, citing *Cod. Dip.*, No. 731.

rank to the burhthegns to whom Edward the Confessor addressed his charters. These burhthegns, as will be shown, were the same as the barons of London, whose court it would seem by later evidence was the husting. Perhaps we may take a step farther and suggest that in the court of the frith-gildsmen, or of the members of the gild for the maintenance of the frith or peace, we have the germ of the husting, for, as Dr. Stubbs remarks, the administration of the peace is inseparable from the exercise of jurisdiction.[44]

Like the shire mote or county court, both the court of the frithgild and the husting were held before the bishop and earl and his shire-reeve or port-reeve in order, as it is stated in the laws of Edgar,[45] that both the law of God and the secular law might be expounded.

The jurisdiction of the husting extended to both civil and criminal actions; at it transfers of land were witnessed and orders made. With the bishop and reeve attended the thegns, or burhthegns as they were called in London. The identity of the burhthegns and barons is proved from the various charters which have survived in both Anglo-Saxon and Latin, in which the Latin *barones* is merely the translation of the Anglo-Saxon thegn or burhthegn.[46] Both terms had an elastic significance, and no definition of a baron was evolved before the thirteenth century. Theoretically barons were tenants in chief, but in practice the importance of their holding, rather than their services, determined their status. Every barony had a court holding pleas of the Crown with view of frankpledge and infangenthef, and was in the nature of a

[44] Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.* (4th ed.), i, 202.
[45] Cf. Laws of Edgar in Thorpe, *Anct. Laws and Instit.*, 113.
[46] Cf. Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, vol. iv, Nos. 888, 902, 905.

hundred court in private hands.[47] The duties of a baron were to give counsel and military aid to the King or, in the case of London, to the port-reeve as the King's representative.

At first no doubt the burhthegns or barons who attended the husting were the principal merchants and traders who, by reason of having fared thrice across the seas, or on account of their wealth and services, were considered thegn-right worthy.[48] They were usually men who, besides their position in London, had considerable property and authority in the home counties, particularly in Essex. The wealth of Ansgar the staller, who there can be no doubt was a burhthegn, has already been referred to ; Hugeline the " bourtheine "[49] was chamberlain and a highly trusted minister of Edward the Confessor. Of the four principal barons of London to whom about 1114–20 a charter from Ramsey Abbey was addressed,[50] Hugh de Buckland was a well-known minister of Henry I, justiciar of London, Essex and many other counties ;[51] Roger (nephew of Hubert) was sheriff of London with Aubrey de Vere in 1125,[52] and Leofstan (the goldsmith) and Ordgar (le Prude) were two members of the cnihtengild who with others conveyed the soke of that gild to Holy Trinity Priory in 1125.[53]

[47] Barony and Thanage by R. R. Reid in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xxxv, 161 *et seq.* For further as to Barons see P. Vinogradoff, *Engl. Soc. in the Eleventh Cent.*, 42, 138, 214 ; Holdsworth, *Hist. of Engl. Law*, 38 ; J. F. Baldwin, *Kings Council in Engl.*, 91 ; W. R. Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constit.*, 182–3 ; Lapsley, *Co. Palatine of Durham*, 67, 108–9 ; Pollard, *Evolution of Parl.*, 88.

[48] Thorpe, *Anct. Laws and Institutes*, p. 81.

[49] Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, iv, p. 243, where he appears as witness.

[50] *Chron. Abb. Ramesiensis* (Rolls Ser.), 237, 240 ; *Cart. Mon. de Ram.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 130. The charters are dated by the editor 1114–30, but they are evidently earlier than this.

[51] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 328, 355. See p. 207n.

[52] *Ibid.*, 309.

[53] The English Gild of Knights, by H. C. Coote in *Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, v, 477–8.

We have mention of two classes of burhthegns or barons, namely eorls, *comites* or *majores barones* and ceorls, *villani* or *minores barones*;[54] but we have no information to show what was the distinction between them, or indeed whether the terms had any specialised meaning.[55] In the case of the *majores barones* quoted by Mr. Round, the persons indicated were those who testified to a deed before the chancellor in the Tower of London and consequently may have been the doomsmen of the husting.

At some uncertain time the soke-owning barons were admitted to the body of burhthegns or barons and to the husting in order to avoid the confusion which must have been created by the numerous and overlapping jurisdictions of the sokes. This confused condition of jurisdictions could only exist while the population was small and the inhabitants were content to live in separate communities. Its disadvantages would soon become apparent, for a misdemeanour could be committed with impunity by an offender passing from one liberty to another. The soke-owners after the Conquest, however, were mostly absentees, and their claims as barons were not apparently pressed. A further cause of confusion was the varying degree of autonomy enjoyed in the different jurisdictions. The soke-mote was in the nature of an ordinary court baron, but while the powers enjoyed in the older sokes, such as those of the Bishop of London, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's and Castle Baynard, were so extensive as to include the right to gallows, in others the jurisdiction was restricted to merely minor offences. It would be unsafe, however, to argue that

[54] See the preamble in the Anglo-Saxon and Latin forms of the ordinances of the Frithgild; Thorpe, *Anct. Laws and Instit.*, p. 97 and charter cited by Round, *Commune of London*, pp. 252–3.

[55] Round, loc. cit.

every soke had even a court of its own, a remark which applies particularly to the later-formed sokes, that were usually sub-infeudations, and to those which were little more than the town houses of ecclesiastics and others. In such cases the lord was satisfied by claiming the fines and forfeitures of his men which had been imposed in the husting.[56]

Gradually there was evolved an organized system defining the legal status and powers of the soke-mote and its relation to the husting. As early as the time of the laws attributed to Edward the Confessor there was an appeal, in case of default of justice, from the court of the soke to the sheriff sitting in the city court,[57] otherwise the husting.[58] A soke-owner could distrain for his land-gafol or socage rent on the goods of his tenant found within his franchise, but, failing such distraint, he had to proceed by writ of gavelot[59] which was pleaded by his soke-reeve in the husting. A soke-reeve could claim no jurisdiction over a foreign merchant or one living outside his franchise, but an action against such a person had to be taken to the husting ; nor could a soke protect anyone from an attachment in a plea of affray with bloodshed or visible wounds.[60] All soke-reeves had to be admitted by the husting before undertaking the office of keeping the soke and collecting the rents.[61] This subordination of the sokes to the husting must, it may be imagined, have been made by the mutual consent of the soke-owners in order to obviate the

[56] Cf. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 95, 97.

[57] Thorpe, *Anct. Laws and Instit.*, p. 200.

[58] This seems to be so from *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 62–4 ; *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 714.

[59] *Ibid.* A form of writ in use in London for the recovery of rent. (A.-S. gafol.)

[60] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 487, 490, 992–5.

[61] *Ibid.*

confusion and lawlessness which would result from a number of small closely packed liberties.

A civic administration of London for making of bye-laws for its good government, apart from or in conjunction with the judicial authority, must have existed at an early date. It was probably at first divided between the folkmote and the husting, an arrangement which would naturally be fraught with confusion. The municipal party represented by the barons was gradually attracting all administrative power to the husting, and it was probably from this development that a court of common council arose. The claim of the citizens of London in 1244 that the articles of the eyre should be received by the mayor, and that he with the counsel of the seniors and discreets and the sheriff should answer without oath, as was done in the time of King John, King Richard and King Henry II,[62] suggests the existence of a council in the reign of the last sovereign. Perhaps it may be carried some years earlier, and Miss Bateson suggests that the twelve *meliores cives* who answered for the city in the time of Rufus may have been a municipal governing body.[63] With the intermittent exercise of municipal rights, the constitution of London may well have changed from time to time. As has already been suggested, during the first half of the twelfth century there were great changes which must have affected the constitution of London. These changes indicate a movement towards municipal independence; the first step in this direction was a "communitas" with its common council to regulate the affairs of the city. It may be

[62] *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 78; a like claim was made by the Mayor and Alderman in 1321 and abandoned. *Ibid.*, ii, pt. i, 299, 300. *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 719.

[63] *Ibid.*, 730 *n.*

that the meaning of the statement by the Londoners at the council at Winchester in April, 1141, that the barons who had entered the commune of the city begged for the release of Stephen,[64] was that a "communitas" with its council had been formed and joined by all the barons of London. Such an assembly could speak in the name of London. It would be presided over by the justiciar or sheriff, both of whom were apparently elected by the citizens for a short time after the charter of Henry I. This legislative body, the chief authority of the city, would lose its independence when later, in 1141, the right of the citizens to the election of their chief officers was withdrawn and the offices themselves granted to Geoffrey de Mandeville in fee and inheritance. After Geoffrey's downfall in 1143 the Crown seems again to have appointed the justiciar until the office was abolished about ten years later, and the privilege of the election of the sheriff was not at once regranted to the citizens. Hence the desire of the barons, the oligarchic party in London, to obtain the control of their council by the recognition of a mayor elected from among themselves. The mayor, so elected, took over many of the duties of the defunct office of justiciar and held a position above the sheriff appointed by the Crown or chosen by the citizens. When Richard I, in 1195, permitted the whole body of citizens to have the farm of London and Middlesex, and consequently the choice of their sheriff, and John granted them this right by charter in 1199, the barons had already obtained the choice of the mayor.

It would seem that the whole body of barons formed a court, probably that of the Great Council, as appears from the numerous writs which are addressed to the mayor and barons

[64] Will. of Malms., *Hist. Nov.*, ii, 576.

of London during the reigns of John[65] and Henry III[66] regarding the collection of aids, tallage, murage and other taxes, and such matters as would naturally go before the council. The barons were also addressed as the recognised authority in 1248, when they were ordered to prevent the citizens from electing new sheriffs at the following Michaelmas,[67] In the record of the proceedings of the eyre at the Tower in 1320–1 the terms *probi barones* and *probi homines* had become interchangeable,[68] and when the commonalty (*communitas*) of London was summoned to answer a plea by what warrant they claimed to elect every year from among themselves a mayor, they pleaded the charter of John granting to the barons (*barones*) the right to elect a mayor from among themselves.[69] From this it would appear that at that date the barons and the commonalty of London were considered one and the same body, which is the condition that possibly prevailed some centuries earlier.

The number of the barons was at first probably unlimited, but such an increasingly large body must have become unwieldy. Eventually the mayor's council, an inner body of the whole or Great Council, was composed of the mayor and aldermen, but it is uncertain when this arose. From the first establishment of a council a large proportion of its members were doubtless aldermen, for aldermen could speak with authority as representatives of separate bodies of citizens. Except three, about whom there is no evidence one way or

[65] *Patent Roll, John* (Rec. Com.), i, 137. *Close Roll, John* (Rec. Com.), ii, 195.

[66] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1225–32, p. 104; 1232–47, pp. 22, 275, 452; 1247–54, pp. 591, 613.

[67] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1247–58, p. 26.

[68] *Mun. Gild. London*, ii, pt. i, p. 289.

[69] *Ibid.*, 308, 314.

the other,[70] all the mayors of London from 1192 to the present day can be shown to have been aldermen, and under the charters of John and Henry III they must have been barons. The Assize of Building of 1189,[71] as it has come down to us in the city records, is probably, from internal evidence and for the reasons set out by Miss Bateson,[72] a compilation of a later date, but in the heading of the third clause the granting of the assize is stated to be made in the assembly of the mayor and aldermen (*in congregatione majoris et aldermanorum*) which is the term used later for the common council. If reliance can be placed on this document it would appear that as early as the time of Henry Fitz Ailwin, the common council seems to have included the aldermen of the wards. We know that in the time of King John, and probably long before, these aldermen sat in the husting and declared the law there.[73] They were apparently the échevins (*skivini*) mentioned in the oath of the commune of about 1193,[74] and were probably the same as the twenty-four aldermen who rendered an account of the tallage of their wards in 1227,[75] the twenty-four aldermen by whom and the mayor an ordinance as to wages was made in the reign of Edward I[76] and those who with the mayor went into the chancery in 1299 and made recognizance in 2000 marks for the payment of a fine for a renewal of the liberties of the city.[77]

[70] The three are Serlo le Mercer (1214, 1217–22), William Hardel (1215) and Solomon de Basinges (1216). They were all of the aldermanic class.

[71] *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 319.

[72] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 506.

[73] *Ibid.*, 493; Petit-Dutaillis, op. cit., 99.

[74] For the oath see Round, *Commune of London*, p. 237, quoting from Add. MS. 14,252.

[75] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 508.

[76] *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), vol. ii, pt. i, p. 99.

[77] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292–1301, p. 412.

The writ of 1206, already referred to,[78] may perhaps throw some light upon this point. It is addressed to the Barons of London, who as a body, there can be little doubt, formed the Great Council of London. They were ordered to cause the election before the justices, of twenty-four lawful, wise and discreet citizens to supersede the elders (*superiores*) who had made default in administering the law, in the assessment and collection of tallages and paying over the money received from them, and in the presentment of purprestures before the King and his justices. Now all the duties in which these elders are said to have failed were among those performed by the aldermen.[79] They, with the mayor, administered the law in the husting, they assessed, collected and paid over the money for the tallages, and they, with the mayor, received the articles of the eyre of the King's justices and made answer regarding the purprestures set out in them. We may perhaps assume, therefore, that the defaulters were aldermen, and that the twenty-four new men who were to be elected to take the

[78] *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, p. 64a. See p. 282.

[79] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxxiv. (31 Hen. II.), p. 219; *Mun. Gild. Lond.* vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 193–5. Loftie's statement (*Hist. of Lond.* i, 190), quoted by Round (*Commune of Lond.*, 239), that the number of counsellors did not agree with the number of wards in 1206, does not seem to be based in evidence. In 1130 there is mention of twenty wards. Portsoken was added shortly afterwards, and by 1228 there were twenty-four. The probability seems to be that three wards were made during the period of change at the end of the twelfth century. A further point to be raised is that the aldermen of Farringdon Ward and Portsoken were not elected as required by the writ. In Farringdon Ward it has been shown that at the date of the writ the alderman was elected, and there may be a doubt whether this was not so regarding Portsoken; at all events the Prior of Holy Trinity did not always serve the office. In a grant of lands in Portsoken Ward, to which Mr. Round suggests the date of 1144, in the time of Norman, the first prior, one of the witnesses is Edmund, alderman of the ward (*Commune of Lond.* 101), and in 1264 Eustace the Prior is said to have appointed Theobald Fitz Ivo to serve as alderman (Stow, op. cit., . 140).

places of, presumably, a similar number of superseded officials and to carry out the same duties, were aldermen also. A difficulty arises, however, with regard to the order that the barons were to see that the elections were to be made before the King's justices, as the elections of the aldermen were held at the various wardmotes. The interpretation of the order with regard to these elections may be that the wardmotes were to come before the justices, or the justices would appoint representatives to attend the wardmotes, in order to secure the election of men ready to carry out the King's wishes. There can be little doubt that the twenty-four citizens formed a governing body, and it is probably more than a coincidence that we have the oath of the twenty-four dated in the same year as the writ, and it might be suggested, perhaps, that it was composed for the men to be elected under the writ. The oath is simple and merely insists upon the administration of the law of the King according to the custom of London, the acceptance of no bribes from those pleading in the city, nor any reward to relieve an injury or to evade the law, on pain of losing the freedom of the city and of expulsion from the society of the twenty-four.[80] The oath, so far as it goes, is consistent with the duties of an alderman.

In the oath of the commune to be administered to the freemen, obedience is required to the mayor and échevins and respect to the mayor, échevins and good men (*probi homines*) who were with them. Here we probably have reference to two councils, the Lesser Council of the mayor and twenty-four and the Great Council of the mayor, twenty-four and the barons who, as has been shown, were the *probi*

[80] Round, *Commune of London*, 237. See App. No. III.

homines. It will be noticed that the sheriffs, the King's officers, are ignored in the oath.

According to Thedmar, the chronicler of London, twenty-five of the more discreet men of the city were elected in 1200 and sworn to take counsel on behalf of the city, together with the mayor,[81] but this is not a particularly good authority and the entry itself is a little obscurely worded. Shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century the term aldermen was beginning to appear in the addresses of writs ;[82] and after the seizure of the liberties of the city in 1285, it not only takes the place of the word " barons " but is placed before the sheriffs.[83] The advance of aldermen in the governing body of London was probably a gradual process which began in the twelfth century. At first it was only a matter of convenience and custom, but it eventually grew into a rule.

[81] *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (Camden Soc.), p. 2. See on the subject Miss Bateson in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 507–8, and App. No. III, p. 281.

[82] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1247–58, p. 117 ; *ibid.*, 1258–66, p. 434 ; *ibid.*, 1292–1301 *et seq.*

[83] *Ibid.*, 1292–1301, p. 418 ; *ibid.*, 1301–7, p. 153.

CHAPTER VIII

SOME GOVERNING FAMILIES OF LONDON

It has already been shown how cosmopolitan the population of London has always been. This phase of the development of London was no doubt gradual, but it is very noticeable even before the Conquest, and became more marked after the introduction of Norman rule. The reason for it is that the Anglo-Saxons, although an industrial people, were not traders, and so it was left to the Danish invaders and other foreigners to revive that commercial prosperity which had spread over the land during the Roman occupation. Throughout the tenth and the earlier half of the eleventh century, Danish and Norse influence prevailed in the city; and from the slight glimpses we get of London society at this time it would appear that the leading families came originally from Denmark and Scandinavia. In Edward's reign there can be little doubt that the house of Godwin, of Norse extraction, had more credit in London than the royal family. Edward attempted to overcome this influence by introducing Norman settlers, and from this circumstance we have the origin perhaps of the two contending parties which, under different names and from different motives, divided London for centuries. In the earlier period of this division, the one side clung to the free institutions of Scandinavia, and the other upheld the feudal theories of Normandy. Like so much else in the development of this

country, it was the merging of the peoples and their institutions upon which the continuance and increase of the prosperity of London depended. The extremes of the one would have led to anarchy and of the other to revolution.

Even in the eleventh century and earlier there was an east and west end of London. It will be noticed that the west end was the wealthier, and was the quarter in which the majority of the governing families lived. But London families seldom continued for any length of time as residents of the city, and a long descent is rare. The successful, after two or three generations, left the city to found county families in other parts of England, and those that failed suffered the penalty of failure and became lost among the many undistinguished members of the community. The Londoners strongly favoured the Baronial party, and numerous families fell into poverty during the Barons' Wars; and by their exclusion from the terms of the Dictum of Kenilworth many were brought to ruin and extinction.

There is little to be gathered from the Saxon chronicles and charters regarding the leading London families, and for the most part merely the incidental mention of their names has come down to us. To Tofig the Proud and Osgod Clapa, Scandinavian stallers, reference has already been made. Hugeline, the burhthegn, probably a French retainer of King Edward, who may have acquired a soke in London, was the King's chamberlain, an office which compelled constant attendance at court, as is shown by the frequent appearance of his name among the witnesses to royal charters. Ulf, the portreeve or sheriff, the first in that office whose name is known to us, and Kinegif his wife may have been of Danish extraction. They were benefactors to Westminster Abbey in

the early years of Edward's reign, when the idea of refounding the Abbey was first mooted by the King.[1] The shrievalties of Ælfget, Swetman, Ælsig and Leofstan [2] indicate perhaps the rise of an English party, which was made possible by the quarrels between the Danish and French citizens in the latter half of Edward's reign. This English party was formed by a coalition of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish factions, and was led in London probably by Ansgar the staller. It arose apparently at the time of the downfall of the Frenchmen or foreigners at Edward's court after Earl Godwin's rebellion in 1052–3. Notwithstanding that Harold had obtained Ansgar's ancestral property at Waltham after the forfeiture of Athelstan his father, Ansgar throughout his career remained a faithful adherent to the house of Godwin. Like Harold he was of Danish or Scandinavian extraction, his grandfather, Tofig the Proud, being a minister of Cnut. Ansgar's wealth was considerable, his estates at the time of the Conquest extending into eight counties.[3] He held the position of staller of London from 1042, but it is not until about 1055 [4] that he appears at Edward's court, and from this date to the time of Edward's death his constant attendance there is shown by the attestations to royal charters.[5] He was present at Edward's last gemote, and was probably one of the electors of Harold to the English throne. At the Battle of Hastings he was banner-bearer and commander of Harold's bodyguard. Later he

[1] Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, vol. iv, No. 872.

[2] Suetman, Ælsig and Leofstan are names of London moneyers in the time of Edward the Confessor. *B.M. Cat. of Brit. Coins*, ii, 329–33.

[3] *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 343.

[4] Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, iv, No. 801.

[5] *Ibid.*, Nos. 801 to 872 *passim;* 801, 806, 808, 810, 811, 813, 824, 825, 828, 855, 864, 872. A witness to a royal charter dated 1060 is "Asgcerus regis dapiferus," but it is doubtful if he can be identified with Ansgar.

became the negotiator with William for the surrender of London, as has already been pointed out. We have no information as to his end; probably he died from his wounds received at Hastings, and his vast estates, being confiscated, passed to Geoffrey de Mandeville. Nothing is known with certainty of his descendants, but a widow, the wife of "Ansgar," who held a manor in King's Walden in Hertfordshire at the time of the Domesday Survey, may be the staller's widow.[6] It has been thought that Godwin son of Esgar, an alderman, possibly of Tower ward, *c.* 1130, was his son, but if this was so he must have been a very old man at that date.[7]

Geoffrey, or Gosfrid de Mandeville, who received the vast estates of Ansgar and much more, took his name from Mandeville near Trevières in the Bessin, but the chief seat of the family, according to Mr. Stapleton, was in the Côtentin at Ollonde in the commune of Canville.[8] Geoffrey's first wife was Adelais, possibly Adelais de Balte (Baupté), who had land at La Févrerie, part of the Honour of Plessis held by Richard who was called Turstin, brother perhaps of Adelais.[9] This lady accompanied her husband to England, and died here before 1086, and was buried in the cloister at Westminster.[10] He married as his second wife Leceline, of whom nothing is known.

Geoffrey must have been a comparatively young man when at the surrender of London he was given the important position of portreeve of that city. The citizens were wealthy and independent, with a strong anti-French feeling surviving

[6] *V.C.H. Herts*, i, 302b. [7] Price, *Hist. of Gildhall*, p. 16.
[8] Thom. Stapleton, *Rotuli Scaccarii Normaniæ* (Soc. of Antiquaries), ii, p. clxxxviii. [9] *Ibid.*
[10] Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, pp. 127, 139. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normanorum*, No. 209.

from the time of Godwin's rebellion some fifteen years earlier. William therefore looked for a man who would overawe rather than conciliate the Londoners, and the qualities which he required were no doubt found in Geoffrey. According to Professor Freeman, he was present with William in London immediately after the coronation of the Conqueror,[11] when he received a grant of the manor of Moze in Essex.[12] The appointment of Gosfrid or Geoffrey de Mandeville as portreeve was apparently one of William's measures for the peaceful ordering of the affairs of London after his coronation.[13] At the same time probably the King granted his charter of liberties to London, which was addressed to his new portreeve. That Geoffrey was a faithful and favourite minister of William there can be no doubt, from the immense grants of land which he obtained, his frequent presence at the royal court as a witness to charters, and his employment as messenger of the King to negotiate matters beyond the sea.[14] That his absence abroad must have been prolonged is shown by the confusion that arose with regard to his property in consequence.[15] Besides being justiciar and sheriff of London he held the same offices for Essex and Hertford.[16] From these few facts we have of him it is clear that he cannot have devoted much time to the interests of London, and the duties attached to his various offices must have been performed by subordinates. He founded Hurley Priory and was a benefactor to Westminster Abbey and other monasteries.[17] He witnessed a charter as late as 1113, but he must have died

[11] Freeman, op. cit., iv, 19.
[12] *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 507b.
[13] *Ordericus Vitalis*, ii, 64.
[14] Freeman, op. cit., v, 746.
[15] *Ibid.*; *Domesday Book* (Rec. Com.), i, 130d.
[16] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 141–2.
[17] *Ibid.*, 38.

shortly afterwards, probably at an advanced age,[18] leaving his son William his heir.

Beyond holding the office of constable or warden of the Tower, William de Mandeville seems to had little connexion with London. He died about 1129,[19] and was succeeded by his infamous son Geoffrey de Mandeville, who was created Earl of Essex, the incidents of whose life, as far as they relate to London, have been given elsewhere. He married Rohese, daughter of Aubrey de Vere,[20] chamberlain to the King, and justiciar of England. Aubrey was apparently justiciar of London, and was killed in the London riots of 1141. His son Aubrey was created Earl of Oxford.

The successor to the first Geoffrey de Mandeville, not only in the justiciarship of London but in several similar offices, was Hugh de Bocland, or Buckland. He was a tenant of the abbot of Abingdon at Buckland, four miles from Abingdon, whence he took his name, and of land elsewhere in the county. He was what was termed a king's clerk, the civil servant of the time, and rose to fame towards the end of the century when William Rufus was endeavouring to exact the heavy taxation, imposed for a loan to his brother Robert and other purposes. As has been shown, Buckland was made local justiciar or sheriff to some eight counties about this time, and was employed in other offices by the Crown.[21] It was evidently for his capacity as an administrator that he was appointed to London, where special difficulties had apparently arisen. As a justiciar of London he would naturally be a baron of the city, and is so referred to in a charter to Ramsey

[18] Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, pp. 150–1. He died probably in 1113 or 1114. [19] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 40. [20] *Ibid.*, 390.
[21] Round, *Doc. France*, p. 40.

Abbey early in the twelfth century. It was he, apparently, that held land in London at Ludgate, which the Bishop of Salisbury granted to Geoffrey the Constable.[22] He also held a wharf of the Abbot of Westminster, probably at London Bridge.[23] His death occurred about 1115, when he left a son, William de Buckland.[24] Foss asserts that he became a canon of St. Paul's, but the identity of the Hugh de Bocland connected with that house at a little later date, with the justiciar and sheriff, has not been proved.[25]

Two of the most important families of London of the early part of the twelfth century were apparently of Italian origin. The Bocointes (Bucca uncta, or oily mouth) and Buckerels (Bucherelli), financiers, bankers and moneylenders, probably settled in London at the end of the previous century. Andrew Bocointe, the first and most famous of his family of whom we have record, appears in connexion with the transfer of the English Cnihtengild's soke of Portsoken to Holy Trinity Priory in 1125, when he was one of the principal parties to the conveyance. He was also a witness to the agreement between Ramsey Abbey and the same priory as to their properties in London, the date of which Mr. Round places between 1125 and 1130.[26] From the Pipe Roll of 1130 we learn that he accounted for the lands of Roger, nephew of Hubert,[27] and an allowance from the debts of Roger's son Gervase was made to him.[28] In 1137 he was holding the

[22] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 25b.

[23] Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, p. 155. [24] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[25] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 25b, 62b. There was a Hugh de Bocland, prebendary of Harlesden belonging to St. Paul's, about this time who may have been the justiciar. Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 249.

[26] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, x (Anct. Charters), 24.

[27] *Rotulus Magn. Pipæ* (Rec. Com.), 145.

[28] *Ibid.*, 147. See also p. 243.

important and responsible post of justiciar of London,[29] a position he had probably occupied for some years before that date. He had land and a furnace (*fornax*), possibly in connexion with coining—for he seems to have been a moneyer—in the parish of St. Stephen Walbrook, and here probably he lived.[30] His death apparently occurred in the reign of Stephen. He had three sons, John, who, with his wife Adela, endowed Colchester Abbey [31] and St. Bartholomew's Hospital,[32] and served the office of sheriff of London from 1169 to 1173; Ralph, of whom we know nothing more than he was a witness to various deeds;[33] and Humfrey, who had lands at Edgware, and carried on a long suit with William Reimes from 1169 to 1175 as to property there and in Essex, which he tried to bring into the city court.[34] Humfrey had a son Andrew and a daughter Lucy.[35] Andrew was apparently the man of his name who committed the outrageous burglary in London already referred to.[36] The date assigned to this crime is 1174, but there is a good deal of doubt as to the exact year, and an entry on the Pipe Roll for 1171 of an account rendered by the sheriff of 12s. of the chattels of three fugitives at Edgware for the death of the son of Humfrey Bocointe,[37] suggests the murder of Andrew by his accomplices, after, as has already been shown, he had given information against them, whereby one of their number, at least, was hanged. This theory seems to be strengthened by the fact that the

[29] Round, *Commune of London*, 108.
[30] *Cart. of St. John's of Colchester* (Roxburgh Soc.), ii, 294.
[31] *Ibid.*, 293, 294.
[32] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, p. 121.
[33] Round, *Commune of London*, 108.
[34] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, 15 Hen. II, p. 173; 17 Hen. II, p. 150; 18 Hen. II, p. 42.
[35] Anct. Deeds, A. 2024.
[36] See p. 99.
[37] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xvi (17 Hen. II), p. 150.

Edgware property went to Humfrey's daughter, Lucy, who married Waleram.[38] Lucy and Waleram had two daughters, Cicely and Lucy, the former of whom married Andrew Blund and had a daughter Joan, who became the wife of Robert de Covele.[39] Lucy, the second daughter of Waleram and Lucy, married Sir John de Guland.[40]

The earliest of another branch of the family was Lawrence Bocointe, possibly a brother or son of the first Andrew.[41] He appears as a witness to two deeds of 1142. His wife, Sabeline, was evidently a lady of importance, as their two sons, William and Geoffrey, describe themselves indifferently by their father's surname or as sons of Sabeline. William granted land in the parishes of St. Mary le Bow and St. Lawrence Jewry to Holy Trinity or Christchurch Priory for the souls of himself, Agnes, his wife, Lawrence, his father, Sabeline, his mother, and Geoffrey, his brother.[42] By his wife, Agnes, he had probably a daughter Beatrice Bocointe, who married and had a daughter Hersent, who became the wife of Geoffrey de St. Loy.[43] It would seem that William Bocointe or Fitz Sabeline married a second time, a lady named Alice, by whom he had a son John, who, like his father, sometimes took the family name of Bocointe and at others that of Fitz Alice after his mother.[44] He married Dionisia, daughter of Christina, daughter of Ordgar, and they together released all

[38] Anct. Deeds, A. 2156.
[39] *Ibid.*, A. 2033, 2310, 2320.
[40] *Ibid.*, A. 2567.
[41] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, pp. 40b, 67b.
[42] Anct. Deeds, A. 1474, 1788. This William Fitz Sabeline has been identified with William Fitz Isabel who was for so many years sheriff of London, but this is probably an error.
[43] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 132. The seals of the parties to the deed referred to are extant at St. Bartholomew's.
[44] Pipe Roll, 9 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.); *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 1b.

claim to the churches of St. Martin Orgar and St. Botolph, Billingsgate, to the Dean and Canons of St. Paul's about 1180–7.[45] William Fitz Alice, an alderman,[46] may have been a brother of John.

The other son of Lawrence Bocointe and Sabeline, Geoffrey, was fined 100 marks for an unknown offence, possibly arising out of the Fitz Osbert riots, in 1197,[47] and again in 1207 he had to give ten goshawks as an amercement.[48] He held lands at Ginges in Essex.[49] His son John married Juliana, daughter of William Fitz Reiner. It was probably this John, and not his cousin of the same name, who was sheriff in 1190–1, for his cousin, evidently to make a distinction, is referred to on the Pipe Rolls as John Bocointe son of Alice. The heavy fine of 100 marks was also imposed on him in 1197.[50] He was alive in 1219–20, when he contributed towards the maintenance of a lamp for the sick in the Hospital of St. Bartholomew at the church of St. Andrew Holborn.[51]

An Adam Bocointe had a son Henry, who married Grace de la Donne.[52] Their son Ranulf, who was living in the reign of Henry III, had three daughters, Joan married to Richard Kyppetre, Margaret and Margery.[53] The Bocointes seem to have dropped out of the history of London about this time.

The other Italian family which settled here, probably at the end of the eleventh century, was that of Buckerel, a name which seems to have become corrupted into Buckler. The

[45] *Ibid.*, 16b, 26, 63.
[46] *Ibid.*, 22b.
[47] Pipe Roll (Lond. and Midd.), 9 Rich. I.
[48] *Ibid.*, 9 John.
[49] *Ibid.*, 9 Rich. I; Anct. Deeds, A. 2113, 6081.
[50] Pipe Roll, 9 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.).
[51] Norman Moore, op. cit., p. 69. Anct. Deeds, A. 7271, 2314.
[52] *Ibid.*, A. 1568, 1588, 2298.
[53] *Ibid.*

first member of the family of whom we have record was a Warine Buckerel, who appears as a witness to a charter of St. Paul's of 1104,[54] and on the Pipe Roll of 1130 we have reference to Thomas, son of Odo Buckerel, and a William Buckerel as pledges for Fulcred Fitz Walter, a former justiciar or sheriff,[55] from which it may be inferred they were men of substance. Geoffrey Buckerel appears about this time. He was evidently a moneyer, and he and Adelulf of Flanders each paid a fine that the agreement as to an exchange, possibly a mint, which had been made between them, might be annulled.[56] He was a joint sheriff in 1130, when he and three others paid a fine that they might go out of office.[57] Geoffrey Buckerel does not appear on the Pipe Rolls for Henry II, so we may perhaps suppose he was dead before that time. Stephen Buckerel, from his date, may well have been his son, but so far no evidence of their relationship has been found. He and Sabella or Isabella, his wife, had a son Andrew, who was sheriff in 1172–4. Andrew was a benefactor to St. Bartholomew's Hospital about 1182, and directed that if he should die on a pilgrimage he was then about to undertake, the hospital should for ever have a rent of 6s. which it paid him for an orchard on the east side of the hospital. The brethren were to hold this rent for the love of God and for the welfare of the souls of his father Stephen, his mother Sabella, and of his own soul and that of his wife Idonea and their children.[58] Andrew seems to have died on his pilgrimage in or before 1183.[59] He held a soke, possibly Bucklersbury, which he sold to Hasculf

[54] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 61b.
[55] *Rot. Magn. Pipæ* (Rec. Com.), 145, 146, 149.
[56] *Ibid.*, 145. [57] *Ibid.*, 149.
[58] Norman Moore, *Hist. of St. Barts.*, i, 269.
[59] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, 29 Hen. III, p. 166.

de Tania, the payments for which were not completed until the beginning of the thirteenth century.[60]

Andrew and Idonea had two sons, Andrew[61] and Thomas,[62] and probably Stephen Buckerel was a third.[63] All three men distinguished themselves. They were all sheriffs and aldermen, and Andrew was mayor in 1231–5. Andrew had lands and possibly a country residence, like so many other London magnates, at Edmonton, and held property in various parts of London. He probably died without issue, and was succeeded in some of his lands by his nephew Thomas, son of his brother Thomas.[64] Thomas, the son, died about 1270,[65] and his daughter Alice married John de Aspale.[66] Stephen was alderman of Cripplegate "Within the bar"[67] and sheriff in 1227. It was probably his son Stephen Buckerel who in 1268 was attached to answer John Renger for having raided his houses at Enfield, Edmonton, Mimms and Stepney and carried away his goods and done damage to the value of £100. Stephen, evidently an adherent to the baronial party, pleaded that he and all his possessions had been given to Edward, the King's son, and he had bought his freedom and a pardon for all transgressions against the King, Henry III, and Edward his son. John Renger, however, pleaded that the pardon did not affect the matter as the citizens of London were excepted from the Dictum of Kenilworth.[68] The result of the action is not given. Isabella, widow of Stephen Buckerel, founded

[60] Pipe Rolls; see yearly from 1184–5 till 1201.
[61] Anct. Deeds, A. 2039, A. 2448, B. 2339, B. 2348.
[62] *Ibid.*, B. 2337.
[63] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 271.
[64] Anct. Deeds, B. 2337.
[65] He was witness to a deed of 1269, Anct. Deeds, C. 850, and is described as dead in *Ibid.*, C. 1172.
[66] *Ibid.*, C. 1172.
[67] *Ibid.*, A. 2490, A. 11862.
[68] *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 175.

a chantry in St. Paul's for the souls of Stephen and their children Stephen, Andrew and William Buckerel.[69]

We have mention of a Matthew Buckerel, who was sheriff in 1255–6 and alderman of Candlewick Street Ward about 1270.[70] A Peter Buckerel brought an action against Hacon the Dane in 1207,[71] and appears to have held a tenement next Ebbgate of Simon, son of Marcian, which eventually went to St. John's Abbey, Colchester.[72]

The family of Cornhill, unlike the Buckerels, were leaders of the aristocratic party both in national and municipal politics. Mr. Round has carefully worked out their pedigree, and shows that on his mother's side Gervase de Cornhill was descended from the Fitz Herlwin family,[73] doubtless of Norman origin. Herlwin had three sons, Ralf Fitz Herlwin, William Fitz Herlwin and Herlwin Fitz Herlwin, and a daughter, Ingenolda, all of whom are referred to in the Pipe Roll of 1130.[74] Ralf Fitz Herlwin was one of the four sheriffs in this year, and had three sons, Robert, William and Herlwin. Robert Fitz Ralf married Mary, daughter of Baldwin de Arras, and with her he inherited from her maternal uncle, Nicholas Fitz Algar, the church of St. Michael Cheap, of which church Nicholas' father, Algar Colessune, had been priest before him. Ingenolda married Roger, nephew of Hubert, who was sheriff with Aubrey de Vere in 1125 and apparently died on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem before 1130. Roger was evidently a man of considerable wealth, holding, besides property in London, the

[69] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 19.
[70] Anct. Deeds, A. 1800, A. 11606.
[71] Pipe Roll, 9 John (Lond. and Midd.).
[72] *Cart. of St. John's, Colchester* (Roxburgh Soc.), i, 256; ii, 304, 305, 306.
[73] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 304–12.
[74] *Rot. Magn. Pipæ Hen. I* (Rec. Com.), 147, 149; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 20a.

manor of Chalk in Kent. Probably when starting on his pilgrimage he placed his property in the hands of Ralf, son of Everard, who was sheriff about 1125–8, and died before 1130, when John his son received a grant of his father's debts. This John and his brother Robert took over the trust of the property of Roger, nephew of Hubert, and rendered an account to the heir. Roger and Ingenolda had two sons, Gervase and Alan. Gervase married Agnes, daughter of Edward de Cornhill, who under the name of Edward Hupcornhill appears as one of the members of the Cnihtengild who surrendered their property to Holy Trinity in 1125. Edward's wife, Godeleve, was daughter of Edward de Southwark, who with his son William was a witness to the same deed of surrender. Apparently Agnes was an heiress, and, as was not unusual at the time, her husband took her name and became known as Gervase de Cornhill. The wealth, fame and industry of Gervase as a merchant, judge and Crown minister have already been alluded to.[75] His properties extended into Essex, Suffolk and Cambridge.[76]

We know nothing of Alan, brother of Gervase, but Mr. Round suggests that he was the father of Roger Fitz Alan who succeeded Henry Fitz Ailwin as mayor in 1212,[77] but it seems perhaps more probable that Roger Fitz Alan was son of Alan, brother of Henry Fitz Ailwin.[78] Gervase and Agnes had three sons, Henry, Reginald and Ralf. Henry de Cornhill succeeded his father as a merchant, judge and Crown minister. He married Alice de Courci, heiress of the English branch of her family, and they had an only daughter Joan, who married

[75] See p. 205.

[76] *Red Bk. of Exchcq.* (Rolls Ser.), 347, 406, 582. Sheriff of London 1155–6 with John Fitz Ralf.

[77] Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 311.

[78] See p. 252.

Hugh de Nevill, forester of England. Reginald de Cornhill, apparently second son of Gervase, was sheriff of Kent, and had a son of the same name, known as Reginald de Cornhill, junior.[79] Of Ralf, the third son, we know little.

The joint sheriff with Henry de Cornhill, his partner in many business transactions and his leading opponent in national and municipal politics, was Richard Fitz Reiner. Richard was a member of one of the most interesting of early London families which generally goes by the name of Fitz Reiner, but as a matter of fact, like many others, had no surname, each member being described merely as the son of his father. The Fitz Reiners were probably Norman immigrants, coming perhaps in the retinue of one of the early Norman bishops of London. A Berengar, servant of the Bishop of London, was witness to a deed concerning land in the soke of St. Bennet Paul's Wharf in 1111,[80] and a little later there are references to a Henry, son of Berengar, the turner, living next the market-place (West Cheap) in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street.[81] This Henry was possibly brother of Reiner, son of Berengar, who was a witness to a deed as to lands in the same district.[82] In the Exchequer accounts for 1156 there are payments to this Reiner Fitz Berengar under Essex,[83] a county so strongly connected with London. Reiner had evidently prospered, and two years later he

[79] Round, loc. cit.

[80] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 26a.

[81] *Ibid.*, 61b, 68a.

[82] *Ibid.*, 68a. In the *V.C.H. Herts*, ii, 268, the writer stated on information given him that Reiner's father was Hugh de Bifield, but there is ample evidence among the Anet. Deeds to show he was son of Berengar. Cf. Anct. Deeds, A. 2025, 2176.

[83] *Pipe Roll*, 2 *Hen. II* (Rec. Com.), pp. 17, 18. We have an entry of a Berengar as tenant at Hanningfield under Ralf Baynard and another of Berengar, a man of Earl Eustace of Boulogne, holding at Ongar in the Domesday Survey (*V.C.H. Essex*, i, 524, 574).

appears as the first of the five sheriffs of London for that year (1158).[84] The same sheriffs continued through the next year,[85] after which they went out of office. In 1163 Reiner Fitz Berengar and William Fitz Isabel became sheriffs and held office jointly for seven years. Reiner was like his eldest son, Richard, probably a general merchant. He had property in Friday Street which he purchased from Roger Bigod,[86] where probably he lived. Being a man of substance and repute, he was of sufficient importance to have a seal of his own, an impression of which showing him in armour on horseback with the legend *Sigillum Reineri filii Berengarii* is preserved among the muniments of St. Bartholomew's.[87] He was living in 1174.[88] He had by his wife Alice three sons, Richard, Henry and William. Richard, the eldest, evidently had a large business, mostly in cloth. He with Henry de Cornhill probably succeeded Edward Blund as the King's butler and chamberlain, for from 1182 we find them providing wine, cloth, furs, saddles and stores of all kinds, in the same way as they had been purveyed by Blund. Richard Fitz Reiner had the custody of several forfeited estates, and was a frequent witness to deeds concerning lands in London. With Henry de Cornhill he served the office of sheriff from 1187 to 1189. Richard accumulated considerable property in London and Hertfordshire. In London his lands lay in Friday Street, which he probably inherited from his father; in Candlewick Street (Cannon Street), and adjoining the river in Vintry, described as lands, houses and quay in the parish of St. Martin " Bare-

[84] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, 4 Hen. II, p. 112.
[85] *Ibid.*, 5 Hen. II, p. 1.
[86] Anct. Deeds, A. 2176.
[87] Norman Moore, *Hist. of St. Barts. Hosp.*, i, 264.
[88] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxi (20 Hen. II), p. 12.

manecherche."[89] In Hertfordshire he purchased the manor of Shenleybury with the advowson of the chapel, from William Chenduit.[90] He died in 1191, apparently unmarried, leaving his two brothers his heirs. He directed by his will that a chantry should be founded at Colney Chapel in Shenley for the benefit of the souls of his father, Reiner, and Alice, his mother, and of himself.[91] The property which he left was very considerable, and it was found necessary to have a solemn agreement, dated the feast of St. Andrew, 3 Richard I (30 Nov., 1191), between the two surviving brothers. This agreement was made in the Court of Exchequer before various justices, John, Count of Mortain (later King John), Henry de Cornhill, Henry Fitz Ailwin,[92] Geoffrey Bocoint and other citizens of London. Under this agreement William Fitz Reiner took the lands at Edmonton, Newland, Wittlesham, "Hamme" and "Newentun," and in London the capital messuage, probably on his property in the Vintry, with all the close and the land which German held, and the cellars where the Lorrainers were accustomed to come together, with many rents from houses in London. Henry Fitz Reiner was to have the property at Duston in Northamptonshire, held of the Honour of Peverel of Nottingham, the property at Shenley in Hertfordshire, and in London a messuage next the church of St. Mary Woolnoth and other lands and rents.[93] William Fitz Reiner had a son William, who was living in 1224, when he acted as attorney for his cousin Saer, son of Henry, regarding lands in the Strand,[94] after which we lose sight of him.

[89] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 88.

[90] *V.C.H. Herts*, ii, 268.

[91] *Ibid.*

[92] Henry Fitz Ailwin comes towards the end of the witnesses and is not described as mayor.

[93] *Rot. Cur. Regis* (Rec. Com.), i, App. cv.

[94] Feet of Fines (Lond. and Midd.), Hen. III, No. 51.

Juliana, daughter of William Fitz Reiner, married John, son of Geoffrey Fitz Isabel. Henry Fitz Reiner, an alderman possibly of Queenhithe or Vintry Ward, where his property lay, married Joan, daughter of Geoffrey Blund. He built himself a hall probably in one of these wards, towards which his wife's relative Robert Blund contributed a beam.[95] He died before 1219, and his widow survived him until after 1224.[96] He left a son, Saer, known as Saer, son of Henry de London, and a daughter, Salveya.

The Fitz Reiners were keen politicians, and it was to politics that their downfall was due. The story of Richard Fitz Reiner's association with John, Count of Mortain, and John's indebtedness to the family, and the part the Fitz Reiners played in obtaining the Commune, has already been told. Notwithstanding the services of the family to John before he ascended the throne, he seized the lands of William Fitz Reiner for his adherence to the Barons, and they were not returned to him until 1217, when Henry III had become King.[97] He had to pay heavily for obtaining this pardon, and we find him selling land probably for the purpose of discharging his debts. We hear little of the family after this, and it seems likely that the younger William died early without issue.

Henry Fitz Reiner was also heavily fined by King Richard in 1197, probably for matters arising out of Longbeard's riots.[98] Saer his son followed in his father's footsteps and, owing apparently to his political views, got hopelessly into the hands of the Jews. His son, John, became still further

[95] Anct. Deeds, A. 1803.
[96] *Bracton's Note Book* (ed. Maitland), 994.
[97] *Close Roll, John and Hen. III* (Rec. Com.), p. 325.
[98] Pipe Roll 9 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.).

involved after the battle of Evesham in 1265, when he and the other citizens of London engaged in it, being excluded from the Dictum of Kenilworth, were put to ransom.[99] To add to his difficulties the Jew of whom his father had borrowed died, and John, son of Saer, had to sell all his estates, now heavily mortgaged, to Adam de Stratton, that greatest of medieval scoundrels. Stratton made it a practice to buy up the debts due to Jews and bleed the victims who thus came into his power.

Less impulsive than the Fitz Reiners, but of the same political party, was the family of Henry Fitz Ailwin, the first mayor of London. Its members were derived from an ancestry that blended English and Norman blood, and perhaps for this reason were more far-sighted and better able to keep their estates throughout the turmoil of the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. Their pedigree can be carried back perhaps to a Hertfordshire origin. The manor of Watton at Stone, together with Walkern and Sacombe, all in that county, was held in the time of Edward the Confessor by Ailwin Horne, a thegn of the King who owned lands also in Middlesex and Bedfordshire.[1] We know nothing of Ailwin beyond the fact that he was a thegn of King Edward and lived probably at Walkern. He was succeeded at Walkern and Sacombe by Derman, a thegn of King William, and at Watton at Stone by Derman and Alward, the latter also a thegn of the King. It is possible that Ailwin was the father of Derman and Alward, for it is unlikely that English holders would succeed an Englishman at this date, unless by descent. A Derman is referred to in the Cartulary of St. John's of Col-

[99] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1266–72, p. 209.
[1] *V.C.H. Herts*, i, 285, 342; iii, 138, 152, 159; iv, 291.

chester,[2] whose manor, given to Eudo 'Dapifer,' Mr. Round shows was Walkern.[3] This being so, the Derman here referred to must be the Domesday tenant of Watton at Stone, Sacombe and Walkern.[4] He was apparently succeeded by his brother Leofstan, who was possibly the portreeve of London of that name who ruled just before, and possibly at the time of the Conquest. He is mentioned in the charter of Henry I confirming the rights of the Cnihtengild to Holy Trinity as a contemporary of the King's father and brother.[5] Stow states that Leofstan, the provost or portreeve, was buried in Bermondsey priory church in 1115,[6] but it is not clear to which Leofstan he refers. The portreeve of that name, who is the best known of the Leofstans of the time, held office just before the Conquest, so that he must have been a very old man if he died in 1115. Leofstan the goldsmith was alive in 1125, consequently the reference cannot be to him. Leofstan was not an uncommon name in London at this time, and there may have been another portreeve of this name holding office under the justiciarship of Geoffrey de Mandeville or Hugh de Buckland.

Leofstan, brother of Derman, has been supposed to be the grandfather of Henry Fitz Ailwin the mayor, but as such a descent would allow about 126 years for less than three generations[7] the supposition is scarcely likely to be correct.

[2] *Cart. of St. John's of Colchester* (Roxburgh Club), i, 28.

[3] *V.C.H. Herts*, i, 286 n.

[4] It is curious to note that a royal charter of 1081 confirming lands in London to St. Peter of Ghent, Derman, Leofstan and Alfward Grossus of London are together witnesses. Round, *Doc. France*, 502–3. As to Alfward Grossus see Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 158.

[5] *Trans. Lond. Midd. Arch. Soc.*, v, 479.

[6] Stow, op. cit., ii, 67.

[7] Taking from 1086 the date of Domesday when Derman his brother was living to the death of Henry Fitz Ailwin in 1212.

As we have the mayor, who was of a London family, described as Henry Fitz Ailwin Fitz Leofstan,[8] and we know that Orgar, a wealthy Londoner, had a son Leofstan who had a son Ailwin, we are tempted to suggest that this Orgar was great-grandfather of the mayor and a son of Leofstan, brother of Derman, who held lands in Hertfordshire afterwards in the possession of the mayor.[9] Taking Orgar's descent, we find he had a sister " Eadilda," who was alive in 1132[10] but had died before 1142–3, previous to which latter date Orgar himself was also apparently dead.[11] He had a son Leofstan and a daughter whose name is not known, who were both living at this latter date. Leofstan's two sons, Ailwin and Robert,[12] were parties to the surrender of the Cnihtengild's soke of Portsoken to Holy Trinity in 1125,[13] and are referred to in the above-mentioned deed of 1142–3.[14] This deed is of especial interest, as it sets out the relatives of Orgar who had a share in an acre of land adjoining the church of St. Margaret, and among them were Gilbert Prutfot, the sheriff, and Azo, the alderman.[15] Robert was probably alderman of the gild of weavers for which he answered in 1130.[16]

With regard to Ailwin, father of the mayor, the frequency of the name at this time is the cause of much uncertainty as to his identity. He may have been the Alfwin son of Leofstan, at whose house the husting met about 1120,[17] but he must

[8] Anct. Deeds, A. 2103, A. 2507.

[9] But compare Round, *Commune of London*, 105.

[10] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 62a, 67b.

[11] *Ibid.*, 62a. See also for lands of Edilda in Survey of St. Paul's lands. Price, *Hist. of Gildhall*, p. 16 *et seq.*

[12] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 31b, 62a, 68a.

[13] See p. 155.

[14] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 62a.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Rot. Magn. Pip.* (Rec. Com.), 144.

[17] *Chron. Abb. Rameseia* (Rolls Ser.), 248.

then have been a very young man. Many deeds were witnessed by Ailwin son of Leofstan and Ailwin the parmenter, with whom he has been identified.[18] He died about 1165, when Henry and Alan, sons of Ailwin, son of Leofstan, paid a fine for lands in Essex or Herts, or perhaps in both, possibly those of their father.[19]

Henry Fitz Ailwin married a lady named Margaret, but we do not know her parentage. They lived at a house adjoining St. Swithin's church, near London Stone, from which Henry sometimes took his name. Besides his property in Hertfordshire he held lands in Kent and Surrey.[20] In a deed of 1177 we have a reference to Henry the alderman, son of Ailwin,[21] and other references to Henry the alderman,[22] all of which probably refer to the first mayor. The date of the beginning of his mayoralty has already been discussed.[23] He continued to hold office until his death in 1212. He had four sons,[24] Peter, Alan, Thomas and Richard. Of the three younger little is known. Thomas inherited his father's lands at Watton at Stone, called "Northberi," and Richard took some of the lands in London,[25] and Alan seems to have had land at Edmonton. Alan died before June, 1222, without issue, and as his land went to the second husband of his niece Joan, we may suppose the other members of the family had predeceased him. Peter Fitz Henry, the eldest son, married Isabel, daughter and heir of Bartholomew de Chesney, who died

[18] Norman Moore, op. cit.
[19] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, viii, 18; ix, 124; x, 154.
[20] *Liber de Antiq. Leg.* (Camden Soc.), xii.
[21] Anct. Deeds, A. 7295.
[22] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 103.
[23] See pp. 112–3.
[24] The descent of Henry Fitz Ailwin is set out very carefully with documentary evidence by Thomas Stapleton in his preface to the *Liber de Antiq. Leg.* (Camden Soc.), from which this account of the family is largely taken.
[25] Pipe Roll, 15 John (Lond. and Midd.).

before 1203 and was buried in the priory of Bermondsey. By her he had two daughters,[26] Margaret, who married Ralf de Clere and appears to have died about 1215 without issue, and Joan, whose first husband was Ralf le Parmentier, a king's sergeant, who died before 1212. Joan married secondly William Aguillun, who died before October, 1244. Robert Aguillun, son of William and Joan, had an only daughter Isabel, who married Hugh Bardolf, with whose descendants the manor of Watton at Stone and other property of Henry Fitz Ailwin passed for many generations.

Henry Fitz Ailwin's brother Alan was, it would seem probable, the father of Roger Fitz Alan, the second mayor of London (1212–13), and of Peter, William and Richard, brothers of Roger Fitz Alan.[27] Roger was associated with Henry Fitz Ailwin as a witness to a very large number of conveyances, and the frequency of these associations is remarkable. He was sheriff of London in 1192–3, the year in which Henry was, we may suppose, elected mayor. Before that date he appears as alderman, when again he is associated with Henry the alderman.[28] He is later mentioned as an alderman, probably of Coleman Street Ward, while he was serving the office of mayor.[29] It is possible that the escheated land of Robert Fitz Edith for which Roger,with Richard Fitz Reiner, and later Roger, with Alan Fitz Peter, possibly his nephew, were answerable in 1185[30] and subsequently, was that of the son of " Eadilda," sister of Orgar, son of Leofstan, their supposed ancestor's sister. Roger Fitz Roger, mayor in

[26] Pipe Roll, 5 John (Sussex), m. 15d.
[27] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 25b. Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 77, 84.
[28] *Ibid.*, 103. [29] *Ibid.*, 544.
[30] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxxii, 29 Rich. II, p. 166; Pipe Roll, 6 John (Lond. and Midd.).

1249, may have been Roger Fitz Alan's son. Peter Fitz Alan, brother of Roger, held lands at Queenhithe,[31] and was alderman of one of the adulterine gilds of the Bridge, which was fined in 1179–80.[32] He had three sons, Alan, Goscelin and Gervase,[33] who together owed the large sum of £100 to Aaron the Jew in 1202. Alan seems to have had a son, Peter, who had a son, John.[34] William and Richard, the other brothers of Roger Fitz Alan, we only trace as witnesses to charters.

There were moneyers bearing the name of Leofstan from the time of Cnut[35] to that of Stephen. One of these, Leofstan the goldsmith, is mentioned as a leading baron of London,[36] and he and his son Wyzo were among those who gave up the lands of the Cnihtengild in 1125. Leofstan was dead before 1130,[37] when Wyzo gave half a mark for the land and office, that of moneyer, of his father.[38] Wyzo is later described as a goldsmith, and had a brother Edward and a son John.[39]

Another man who gives rise to confusion in the descent of Henry Fitz Ailwin is Derman of London, who held land at Islington at the time of the Domesday Survey (1086).[40] He had a son Terri who succeeded to his father's property.[41] This Terri had a son Bertram, known as Bertram de Barwe,

[31] Norman Moore, op. cit., 77. [32] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxix, 153.

[33] Pipe Roll (Lond. and Midd.), 9 Rich. I; *Rot. Cancellarii* 3 *John* (Rec. Com.), 102.

[34] Norman Moore, op. cit., ii, 101. The Fitz Alan lands were in the parish of St. Margaret Lothbury, where also lay the property of Eadilda and Orgar.

[35] *B.M. Cat. of Engl. Coins*, ii, 229.

[36] Round, *Commune of London*, 309.

[37] *Rot. Mag. Pipæ Hen. I* (Rec. Com.), 145. [38] *Ibid.*

[39] Round, *Commune of London*, 106.

[40] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 63b.

[41] *Cart. of St. John's of Colchester*, ii, 293. A Derman of London had a son Ordgar and three daughters whose grant of lands was confirmed to Westminster, c. 1107–1115. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 147–8.

from the manor of Newington Barrow in Islington, and a daughter who married William Blemond, from whose " bury " or house Bloomsbury takes its name. William had a son Terri.[42]

Another early alderman of London who must have been almost a contemporary of Turstin, the first of whom we have mention, is Ulgar, the alderman, who was a witness to a charter of the early part of the twelfth century.[43] He seems to have had three sons, Hugh, Walter and Guy, who all appear on the Pipe Roll for 1130.[44] Hugh son of Ulgar was one of the fifteen burgesses who granted Portsoken to Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, in 1125.[45] He appears as an alderman of a ward in the St. Paul's list of 1130,[46] and witnessed a charter of Geoffrey, Earl of Essex, in 1142–3.[47] His son Walter, a benefactor to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, is the last of the family that has been traced.[48]

The members of the family of Fitz Isabel, holding property in the Old Fish Market near St. Paul's, were probably fishmongers.[49] The first of whom we have reference was William Fitz Isabel, who was sheriff in 1156 and held the same office at intervals to the time of his death in 1195.[50] He married Dionisia,[51] and had three sons, Roger,[52] William[53] and Martin,[54] and a daughter, Margaret. In 1185 he was fined the

[42] This pedigree is taken from Round, *Commune of London*, 106.
[43] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 62b.
[44] *Rot. Magn. Pipæ, Hen. I* (Rec. Com.), p. 46.
[45] See p. 155. [46] See p. 176.
[47] Round, *Commune of London*, 118.
[48] Norman Moore, op. cit. i, 139, 220.
[49] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, pp. 19a, 22a, 24a.
[50] Pipe Roll 7 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.).
[51] Anct. Deeds, A. 1641.
[52] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 19a, 22a ; Anct. Deeds, A. 2182.
[53] *Rot. Cancellarii*, 3 *John* (Rec. Com.), p. 30. [54] *Ibid.*

large sum of 1000 marks, equal to many thousand pounds at the value of to-day, for not taking sufficient bail from a prisoner and so allowing his escape, while he was sheriff.[55] The money was paid off gradually, but it indicates the immense wealth of which he was possessed, and shows the methods employed by the Crown for relieving the citizens of their accumulated riches. His sons do not seem to have distinguished themselves. Roger apparently dwelt in the parish of St. Margaret, Friday Street.[56] Margaret, his daughter, probably married twice, first to Roger Pentecost, who held property in the parish of St. Mary, Somerset,[57] by whom apparently she had no children.[58] She married secondly William le Viel, and one of their daughters, Dionisia, married Ernulf Ruffus or Fitz Alulf. Dionisia had two daughters, Alice and Desiderata, the latter of whom married Adam de Basings.[59]

The Fitz Isabels were thus related to the Fitz Alulfs, le Viels and Basings, and Dionisia in her widowhood gave a warehouse in Cheap to her cousin Stephen Buckerel and another to her son-in-law, Adam de Basings.[60]

The Fitz Alulfs, with whom the Fitz Isabels intermarried and a good deal of whose wealth they inherited, apparently lived not far from the Fitz Isabels on the north side of Cheap. They also had property at Acton in Middlesex.[61] The earliest member of the family of whom we have reference is Fromond, an alderman, who was living in the middle of the twelfth

[55] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxxiv, p. 222.
[56] Anct. Deeds, A. 2182.
[57] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 292.
[58] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 24a.
[59] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 5a, 25a, 29b, 51a. *Dep. K. Rep.*, xxxv Charter of Duchy of Lanc., Nos. 186–9. See later, p. 259.
[60] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 51a ; see also p. 25a. How the relationship between the Fitz Isabels and Buckerels arose, is not shown.
[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 31a, 34a.

century.[62] He had two sons, Alulf and Pentecost. There were two or three Pentecosts at this time in London, Pentecost the goldsmith, Pentecost the draper, and the Roger Pentecost already referred to. It is doubtful if any of these can be identified with Pentecost Fitz Fromond, who held land in the parish of St. Nicholas, Flesh Shambles.[63] Alulf Fitz Fromond is a frequent witness to deeds relating to lands in the north-west of London. He had a large family, the eldest of whom, probably, was William Fitz Alulf, who was sheriff with William Fitz Isabel in 1193–4, and a constant witness to charters with his brothers.[64] He had a son Peter, who held land and perhaps lived at Acton about 1221–8 and later.[65] Possibly the second son was Ernulf, Arnulph or Arnold, who was known both as Fitz Alulf and Ruffus or Rus. He married Dionisia, daughter of William le Viel and Margaret his wife, daughter of William Fitz Isabel, whose father's wealth she seems to have inherited. The descendants of Ernulf and Dionisia have already been given.[66] Ernulf lived perhaps in the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry, where he granted to the abbot of Bec an earthen wall in order that the abbot might build a wall of masonry between their adjoining lands.[67] He served the office of sheriff in 1198–9.

The most famous of the family was Constantine Fitz Alulf, whose name frequently occurs as a witness to the conveyance of lands in the same quarter of London. He was sheriff in 1197–8, and evidently took a leading part in the politics of

[62] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 264, 303.

[63] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 303.

[64] Norman Moore, op. cit.; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix. See Index to each.

[65] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 31b, 34a.

[66] See p. 255. On the Pipe Roll for 8 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.) is an entry that Jordan, nephew of Gervase, rendered account for the wife of Ernalf Ruffus.

[67] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 353.

the day, being, like so many Londoners, a strong supporter of Louis of France and the Baronial party in London. In 1221 some ill-feeling, which spread to a political riot, arose regarding a wrestling match held at St. Giles in the Fields, between the champions of London and Westminster. The Londoners were victorious, and the Westminster men, resenting their defeat, challenged their neighbours to another match. According to the story, the Westminster men, instead of carrying out the match fairly, collected a number of roughs who attacked the Londoners and drove them with bloodshed into the city. The folkmote bell was rung, and on the assembly of the people, the mayor, Serlo le Mercer, urged moderation, and recommended that a claim should be made for damages against the abbot of Westminster. Constantine, although he must have been beyond middle age and past the hot-headedness of youth, incited the people to attack the houses of the abbot of Westminster and his steward, probably near London Bridge. For this purpose he led a mob to the abbot's property, shouting "Mountjoie! Mountjoie!" the war-cry of the King of France. Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar of England, whose house was at Westminster, had Constantine and his nephew, Constantine the younger, son of his sister Alice, wife of Richard de Heregard,[68] and some others, arrested. Constantine, "ever constant in sedition and yet more constant in his replies," as Mathew Paris, glad of the pun, said of him, and his companions, were sent to the Tower. They set up a claim to immunity under the promise of Henry, made in 1217, that no partizan of France should be prejudiced by his partizanship, but their plea was of no avail. Without trial they were taken

[68] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 299, 300; Stow, *Surv. of London* (ed Kingsford), i, 50.

from the Tower in the morning after their arrest, and hanged by Faulk de Breauté, the most cruel of John's lawless companions. Breauté then seized several other citizens and punished them by cutting off their hands and feet. Probably on the night before his execution, Constantine granted lands to St. Bartholomew's Hospital for prayers for his soul and the souls of Katherine his wife and their family.[69] This hasty and unjust act of Breauté later raised diplomatic questions with Louis of France.[70]

The other sons of Alulf were Fromond, of whom we know little, and Adam, who married a lady named Agnes. Probably it was Constantine, son of Adam, who was a witness to a deed by which John, son of John, son of Nigel, granted lands in the parish of St. Sepulchre to Martin de Limoges, son of Guy de Limoges.[71]

The le Viels (Wyel, Senex, Vetus) were another family which intermarried with the Fitz Isabels. The earliest of them of whom we have record is Richard le Viel or Vetulus, who was sheriff in 1157–8 and 1158–9. We find another member of the family, Reginald le Viel, holding the same office in 1179–80, who had a daughter Rose married to Robert Fitz Peter.[72] His property lay about Bishopsgate and Cheapside.[73]

The John le Viel, already referred to, who was hanged in 1174, was probably a son of William le Viel, who obtained his house in 1186 by payment of four marks.[74]

[69] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 299, 305.

[70] *Liber de Antiq. Leg.* (Camden Soc.), 204–5.

[71] Norman Moore, op. cit., 317–1. John Fitz Nigel, an alderman, and sheriff in 1177, had another son Thomas. *Ibid.*, 67, 123, 247, 356, 357.

[72] Norman Moore, op. cit., ii, 102.

[73] *Ibid.*, i, 82, 277.

[74] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxxvi, 51.

John le Viel, who was sheriff in 1219, and whose wife Margery was the plaintiff in the celebrated case of dower during the shrievalty of her son,[75] had two sons, John,[76] an alderman[77] and sheriff in 1241, whose daughter Isabel married Nicholas de Basings,[78] and William, also an alderman[79] and sheriff in 1247–8. William was the second husband of Margaret, daughter of William Fitz Isabel, the sheriff. William and Margaret apparently had three daughters, Dionisia, who married Ernulf Fitz Alulf[80] or Ruffus, by whom she had two daughters, Desiderata, who married her kinsman Adam de Basings, and Alice, of whom we know nothing;[81] Alice, the second daughter of William and Margaret, who married John de Marisco de Evesend,[82] and a third daughter, who married a man named Richard.[83]

Some of the many Blund or le Blond families in London were possibly connected with Robert Blund, apparently, from his name, a fair-haired Norman who probably settled here in the time of King Edward, whose family made their peace with William after the Conquest. Robert Blund was tenant in chief of the King in Suffolk[84] and Middlesex,[85] and held lands of Aubrey de Vere in Essex.[86] His chief residence was

[75] *Liber de Antiq. Leg.* (Camden Soc.), xxxiv, 12–15.
[76] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 28a.
[77] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 402.
[78] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 1b; Anct. Deeds, A. 2574.
[79] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 426.
[80] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 5a, 25a, 29b, 51a.
[81] *Dep. K. Rep.*, xxxv; charters of Duchy of Lanc., Nos. 184–9; Anct. Deeds, A. 2430.
[82] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 4b, 5b.
[83] Norman Moore, op. cit., ii, 137.
[84] *V.C.H. Suff.*, i, 572–4.
[85] *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), 130 dors.
[86] *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 533, 574. The eastern county Blunds married into the London family of Colechurch. *Rot. de Dominabus* (Pipe Roll Soc.), pp. 47, 63.

apparently at Ixworth in Suffolk, and here we find that one of his tenants had land which the famous Ansgar the staller had held in commendation. This land Ralf Blund, Robert's brother, had at his death, and Robert afterwards received it from the King.[87] The earliest of the London Blunds was Edward Blund, who was a man of importance in the time of Henry II. He was perhaps the son of John Blund, whom he succeeded in certain land in the parish of St. John Walbrook,[88] and had a brother Walter, apparently a wealthy fishmonger. He was sheriff of London, and served the office of butler and chamberlain to the King in London, and was surveyor of the King's works at Windsor in 1169–70, at Westminster in 1167, at the Tower in 1172, and at Waltham in 1181. We find that he and William Magnus provided wine, food, stores and clothes, both robes and cloth to be made up into garments, for the King and Queen and their children, for the King's mother and the daughter of the King of France and her household. He provided the trousseau for the King's daughter, Maud, on her marriage with the Duke of Saxony in 1166, and the tents for her retinue. He also obtained falcons for the King, and on one occasion was called upon to superintend the salting of a sturgeon at the Tower. These varied duties brought him wealth and position, which enabled him to establish his family in prosperity at London. He died probably about 1181, when his name ceases to appear on the Pipe Rolls.[89] He had by his wife Alice[90] a son, Peter, who had land in the parish of St. Olave "Mukewellestrate," later Silver Street. Peter

[87] *V.C.H. Suff.*, i, 574.

[88] Anct. Deeds, A 2492; see endorsement.

[89] The above details are taken from entries in the volumes of the *Pipe Roll Soc.*

[90] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 23a.

married Aubrey, probably daughter of Geoffrey le Bursier (*d.* 1195), who with Marsilla, wife of Hugh Ruffus, probably her sister, paid 1000 marks for the lands which had belonged to Alan le Bursier (Bursarius), perhaps their brother, in 1212.[91] He may have been the Peter Blund described as alderman of Tower Ward,[92] who had a son Richard.[93]

Walter Blund, fishmonger, brother of Edward, had land in the Fish Market and in Newgate and Ludgate Ward,[94] now Farringdon Ward. He had a son Walter, who seems to have followed his father's trade. By his wife Maud, he had a daughter Helen, who in the second quarter of the thirteenth century made a grant of a rent in the parish of St. Mildred, Bread Street, to Holy Trinity Priory.[95]

Geoffrey Blund may very well have been a brother of Edward and Walter, but there is no proof of it. He was alderman probably of Queenhithe, where his land lay.[96] He bought from Richard de Umfraville the soke of Hasculf de Tania in or near to Queenhithe,[97] and from Robert Briton the vill of Brentford,[98] which was confirmed to him by Richard I. It is clear he was a wealthy man, and contributed 100 marks in 1195 to the benevolence towards King Richard's ransom.[99] He married Ida, sister of Richard de Umfraville, and had a son Thomas,[1] who gave a rent from land in St. Mildred's parish to St. Paul's for prayers for the soul of Geoffrey his father and Richard de Umfraville his uncle,[2] and others. His daughter

[91] Pipe Roll, 7 Rich. I and 14 John (Lond. and Midd.).
[92] *Cart. of St. John's of Colchester* (Roxburgh Club), ii, 299.
[93] *Ibid.*, 590, 592. [94] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, pp. 22b, 66, 80.
[95] Anct. Deeds, A. 1695; A. 2479; A. 2510.
[96] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 209.
[97] Anct. Deeds, A. 6128. [98] *Ibid.*, A. 5437.
[99] Pipe Rolls, 7 Rich. I; 9 Rich. I; 3 John (Lond. and Midd.).
[1] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, p. 2a. [2] *Ibid.*, 22a.

Joan married Henry Fitz Reiner, and he endowed her on her marriage with 10 marks rent in Brentford.[3]

Henry Blund was another contemporary, and was probably a kinsman of Edward and Geoffrey. He provided the King with a hawk in 1166.[4] He had two sons, Richard and Henry, who in 1203 granted a rent in Aldermanbury to Holy Trinity Priory.[5] We hear no more of the son Henry, but Richard became a distinguished man. He was a goldsmith and moneyer of considerable wealth, and served the office of sheriff in 1199. Norman Blund, whom we find associated with him as witness to a deed as to land in the parish of St. Michael, Wood Street, a draper,[6] who served as sheriff in 1201–2,[7] may have been another brother.

A branch of the Blund family living in the same part of London was that of Bartholomew Blund, who married Salerna, daughter of Gilbert Blund,[8] possibly Gilbert Blund of Ixworth in Suffolk, a large landowner, whose son William married Alice, daughter of Richard de Colechurch, perhaps of London origin.[9] Bartholomew and Salerna had three sons, Robert, a timbermonger, John, a goldsmith, and Walter. Robert was an alderman, possibly of Bread Street Ward,[10] and a sheriff in 1196–7. He held Blunt's manor in Sawbridgeworth,[11] and purchased land in Ginges in Essex in 1197,

[3] Anct. Deeds, A. 7311 ; Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 328.
[4] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, ix, 130.
[5] Anct. Deeds, A. 1502–3, A. 1951.
[6] Anct. Deeds, A. 2718 ; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 14a.
[7] Pipe Roll, 4 John (Lond. and Midd.).
[8] Anct. Deeds, A. 2688.
[9] Rot. de Dominabus (*Pipe Roll Soc.*) 47, 63. It is he probably who was referred to as William Blund of London in 1211–12. *Red Bk. of Exchcq.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 577.
[10] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 22a ; Anct. Deeds, A. 1474.
[11] *V.C.H. Herts*, iii, 342.

adjoining land of Geoffrey Bocointe.[12] Andrew Blund, possibly his son, married Cicely Waleram,[13] granddaughter of Humphrey Bocointe, with whom he acquired property at Edgware and other places. Robert married Avice,[14] and apparently lived in Essex, where his interests lay. He had a daughter, Clementia, who married Richard de Hispania, and had a son, Peter. The Fitz Reiners, who were also in the timber trade, were connected with Robert Blund, whose wife Avice may have been a Fitz Reiner.[15] John Blund, the goldsmith, another son of Bartholomew,[16] got into trouble as a moneyer in 1181 and his goods were seized by the sheriffs.[17] He had a shop in the "Goldsmith's Market," probably in Aldersgate.[18] Walter, a third son of Bartholomew Blund, was probably a timber merchant, as he had dealings with Henry Fitz Reiner with regard to property at Queenhithe, the centre of that trade;[19] but he is difficult to identify out of the numerous people of this name at that date.

A family of Blund, traders in London, but connected with Edmonton, the home of so many Londoners at this time, were living at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Richard, son of William Blund, endowed the monastery of Holy Trinity with lands at Edmonton,[20] and his sons, Geoffrey, a carpenter, with his wife Sabina, and Thomas, also gave land there to the same monastery.[21] Geoffrey was living in 1281–2.[22] There was also an Adam le Blund or de Fulham, a fishmonger, living in the reign of Edward I, who

[12] Pipe Roll, 9 Rich. I (Lond. and Midd.). Ginges now Butsbury.
[13] Anct. Deeds, A. 2033, 2310.
[14] *Ibid.*, A. 2624.
[15] *Ibid.*, A. 1621; 1803; 2688; 11609.
[16] *Ibid.*, 2756.
[17] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxx, p. 159.
[18] Anct. Deeds, A. 1641.
[19] *Ibid.*, 1803.
[20] *Ibid.*, A. 1699; 1703.
[21] *Ibid.*, A. 1700.
[22] *Ibid.*, A. 1820.

had a daughter, Joan, a nun at Clerkenwell, and a sister Joan.[23]

The Haverhill family first comes into prominence in London in the middle of the twelfth century. Brichtmar de Haverhill was sheriff with four others in 1157–8, 1158–9, and with Peter Fitz Walter as warden (*custos*) in 1174–6. He was a general merchant, and perhaps in the capacity of Chamberlain supplied Henry II and his family with large quantities of cloth of gold, robes, cloth, wine, etc.[24] With others he had charge of the works at the Tower in 1178.[25] He probably died about 1180, and was succeeded to his property, which lay in the north-west quarter of London, by his son William. We find William de Haverhill buying two hawks for Richard the King's son in 1170,[26] and he appears as alderman of an adulterine gild in 1180.[27] He frequently witnessed charters relating to land in and around Wood Street, and endowed the Hospital of St. Bartholomew with various rents from properties in the neighbourhood. He was alderman of Cripplegate Ward and soke-reeve of the Bishop of Ely's soke in Wood Street. He served the office of sheriff in 1189–90, and in 1190–1 he was warden (*custos*) for the Crown, and in the next year sheriff, appointed by the citizens; he also farmed the customs of Billingsgate and Botolphsgate from 1196 to 1201.[28] His wife's name was Alice, and he had by her three sons, Thomas, Richard and James.[29] William de Haverhill seems to have become a canon of St. Paul's in the latter part of his life, like many other citizens of London, and an obit was sung for his

[23] Anct. Deeds, A. 2038, B. 2041, 2841, 2064.
[24] *Pipe Roll Soc.*, vii, 20; ix, 130; xv, 15.
[25] *Ibid.*, xxvii, 127. [26] *Ibid.*, xv, 15. [27] *Ibid.*, xxix, 154.
[28] Pipe Roll, 8 Rich. I and 3 John (Lond. and Midd.).
[29] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 214; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix. See Index.

soul at the altar of St. Chad in the Cathedral.[30] His son Thomas was alderman apparently of Cripplegate Ward and was sheriff in 1203–4. Thomas' two brothers, Richard and James, frequently witnessed deeds relating to lands in Cripplegate Ward,[31] but they do not seem to have held any public office. Richard had a daughter, Dionisia.[32]

The Basings probably settled in London late in the twelfth century. Solomon de Basings and Hugh de Basings were joint sheriffs in 1214–15. There was a Nicholas de Basings contemporary with them who may have been a brother. A Thomas de Basings was succeeded by Solomon as tenant of a house in Friday Street,[33] so that it is possible he may have been Solomon's father, and perhaps father of Hugh and Nicholas. Solomon was mayor in 1216. He married Avice, with whom he received some land near St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where bodies had been buried during the Interdict.[34] This land he conveyed to the hospital in 1222. He was the father of Adam de Basings, warden of the Hospital of St. Giles,[35] sheriff in 1243 and mayor in 1251. Adam purchased Aldermanbury and gave his name to Basinghall Street. By his wife Desirée or Desiderata he had a son Thomas,[36] bailiff of London in 1269,[37] who married Alice, called "la Blunde," whose son Peter was dead in 1275,[38] and a daughter Avice, who married William de Hadstock,[39] a member of another aldermanic family, by whom she had a son Augustine.[40] We know little of Hugh, but Nicholas, as has already

[30] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 2a.
[31] *Ibid.*, and Norman Moore, *Hist. of St. Barts.* See Indices.
[32] *Ibid.*, i, 57.
[33] Norman Moore, op. cit., ii, 82.
[34] *Ibid.*, i, 323.
[35] *Ibid.*, 285.
[36] Anct. Deeds, B. 2378.
[37] Norman Moore, op. cit., i, 432.
[38] Anct. Deeds, A. 2142.
[39] *Ibid.*, B. 2364.
[40] *Ibid.*

been stated, married Isabel, daughter of John le Viel the younger.[41]

From the foregoing descents of some of the governing families of London it is interesting to notice how much these families intermarried. At first the practice had the advantage of blending the blood of the different races which made up the cosmopolitan population, but it had a tendency later towards making the ruling body exclusive and preventing the introduction of new men. As a consequence probably it led to the formation of a democratic party which eventually brought about the changes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The wealth of the Londoners, however, soon attracted feudal families outside, and we find citizen heiresses marrying into such families as the Nevilles, Bardolphs and the like. The effect, however, was rather to carry wealth from London than to bring new blood into the governing body.

[41] See p. 259.

CHAPTER IX

THE GROWTH OF LONDON

It is probable that the earliest settlement in London was at Dowgate at the mouth of the Walbrook. Here on the wooded banks of the creek formed by the estuary of the stream, running down the valley between Ludgate Hill and Tower Hill and Cornhill, was the little village out of which eventually grew the present metropolis. Its earliest inhabitants probably lived by fishing and ferrying travellers across the Thames to and from the Kentish ports on the one side and Camulodunum (Colchester) or the north on the other ; and perhaps by acting as guides and porters. Then came the bridge over the Thames, which shifted the centre of population a little to the east and brought to London the importance that a bridge-head usually supplies. Thus the British village expanded into the Roman town, the centre of trade, and communication for the whole island. The growth of Roman London has already been traced, and, as has been shown, its plan had probably become obliterated when the Saxons settled within its defences. The bridge, however, remained, and, as in the period of the Roman occupation, was the determining feature in the lay-out of the Saxon settlement. Around its northern head arose the new town on the ruins of its Roman predecessor, which again became the centre of traffic and population for the whole country. From the approach to the bridge three streets

diverged to the three principal gates, namely, Newgate or the west gate, Bishopsgate or the north gate, and Aldgate or the east gate. At an early date the two great market-places were established, the Eastcheap at the entrance from the bridge to serve the burgesses and the Westcheap at the entrance from the west gate to serve the households of the King and the monastery of St. Paul's. In the course of time these two great open market-places, through which the streets from the bridge to Newgate and Aldgate ran, caused the displacement of the roadways by the encroachments to which most market-places have been subject. The temporary stalls and booths gradually gave place to fixed buildings and ultimately to shops and houses, so that the traffic became confined to a definite line of roadway. Thus both these streets were thrust northward until at some period before the eleventh century[1] they reached the position they now occupy, meeting at a little less than half-way up the street from the bridge to the north gate or Bishopsgate, which had continued in its ancient course. In this way a west to east traffic was developed by an irregular line of road from Newgate to Aldgate, with the relief road formed probably later by Cornhill and Leadenhall Street which avoided the loop made by Lombard Street and Fenchurch Street. Other main roads running west to east followed at an early date, namely Ludgate to the Tower by the present Watling Street, Cannon Street and Eastcheap, and, after the ninth century, a third east to west road was formed by Thames Street which takes the line of the demolished

[1] The diverting of the western of these roads called Watling Street must have taken place before the building of the church of St. Mary le Bow, which is said to be of the time of the Conqueror, on its south side, and that of St. Peter, Wood Street, which is mentioned in a deed of about the end of the twelfth century, on the north side. See map, p. 175.

south wall. These and the chief roads through the sokes are generally in medieval documents described as streets, while the subsidiary lines of communication connecting them were usually called lanes.

The growth of the London streets and lanes was gradual, but the general plan, with the exception of a few well-known alterations, had, there can be little doubt, acquired its present form before the Conquest. In any case when, in the twelfth century, we obtain the help of deeds to enable us to know what streets were then in existence, we find that all the main arteries and many of the lesser lanes were well established.

Of the two great market-places, Eastcheap was at first probably the more important. It seems originally to have extended from the Bridge to Cornhill, for there is evidence that the market existed in Gracechurch Street and that there were stalls belonging to St. Peter of Ghent in Tower Street.[2] From evidence of the streets and churches it is clear that the eastern market-place had been largely built over in or before the twelfth century, while the western market-place seems to have remained open until a much later period. The latter was divided into places for the buying and selling of different articles, the names of which are still retained in Wood Street, Milk Street, Ironmonger Lane, Poultry, Sopers Lane, etc. The absence of such names in Eastcheap indicates perhaps that the market-place was covered by buildings before the

[2] Whether the markets at the Stocks Market and Cornhill on the east side of the Walbrook formed a part of Eastcheap or were a later extension of the Westcheap is uncertain. Probably the Walbrook was lost sight of as a dividing line when it ceased to be an open watercourse here and the western market overstepped its limit. We know the Stocks Market was not established until the thirteenth century. (Stow, *Surv. of Lond.*, ed. Kingsford, i, 225; ii, 317.)

time that distinctive positions were assigned to different trades.

Some of the food sold in these markets was brought, no doubt, from the lands immediately outside the walls, which was cultivated by the citizens. But these lands soon after the Conquest began to be built over, and the supply of produce from them became inadequate at an early date, so that provisions had to be brought by road and river from the country beyond. Corn was landed at Queenhithe and Billingsgate. That coming from Cambridge, Bedford, Huntingdon and Ware was sold at Gracechurch Market, a part of Eastcheap; that from Barnet and the west was sold at Westcheap. The corn was ground by horse mills, of which there were many in the city. Besides the bread made in London we find that supplies were also brought from Stratford by Bow, Bromley by Bow, Stepney and St. Albans. Fish, a staple article of food, was landed on the Thames quays and sold in both markets.[3]

London of the thirteenth century was much like a modern country town. Within was a good deal of open land, which, near the Walbrook in Coleman Street and Broad Street Wards, was probably pasture. These pasture lands may have occasioned the orders against allowing cattle, sheep and swine to wander about the streets. Orchards and shrubberies or copses were attached to many of the larger houses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and most houses had gardens.[4] Outside the gates, houses of magnates and religious communities were arising with their grounds of meadow land and trees. Here

[3] *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Roll Ser.), i, pref. lxv.

[4] See *Dep. Keeper's Rep.*, xxxv, p. 18; Sharpe, *Cal. to Letter-Bk.* A, 159; and numerous references to gardens, orchards, shrubberies in Price, *Hist. of Gildhall*, p. 16 (Survey of lands of St. Paul's); P.R.O. Ancient Deeds; St. Paul's MSS., *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, etc.

also we learn from Fitz Stephen were corn-fields and pastures, with streams, of which the names of Moorfield and the two Smithfields are still reminiscent. Beyond on the north were the woods and forest lands[5] of St. John's Wood, Hampstead, Highgate, Hornsey, etc., and, further out, of Enfield Chace, in all of which were birds and beasts of the chase, for Londoners were great sportsmen.

Again, we ascertain from the deeds of the thirteenth century that there was about that time an increase of building, and that timber and framed houses thatched with straw or reeds, were giving way to stone and tiled buildings.[6] In 1212 proclamation was made that every person who should build a house, was to take care, "as he loved himself and his," that he did not cover it with reeds, rushes, stubble or straw, but only with tiles, shingles, board or lead.[7] The order was made on account of the series of disastrous fires about this time, but the practice no doubt grew by reason of the increased wealth of the city.

Although most of the main thoroughfares were of a fair width, the side streets and lanes were narrow, and were made narrower and darker by the projecting upper stories of many of the houses, these projections having but a limit of eight feet from the ground, according to the assize of building supposed to be of 1189. The houses were usually of only one storey above the ground floor, the upper storey occasionally forming a separate tenement which was reached by a staircase outside the building.[8] The windows were closed by shutters,

[5] *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), vol. ii, pt. i, p. 4.

[6] See references to stone houses in Ancient Deeds. For houses specially mentioned as tiled, see Anct. Deeds A. 1710, 1849.

[7] *Mun. Gild. Lond.*, vol. ii, pt. i, p. xxxii.

[8] Cf. Anct. Deeds A. 2019.

glass being used only in the houses of wealthier citizens. Charcoal and faggots were the usual fuel, sea coal, as it was termed, not being in use in London until the end of the thirteenth century; as a consequence, chimneys were not common, the charcoal being consumed in open braziers. The water supply was drawn from wells or springs and from the Thames, provision being made for citizens to have access to the river for drawing water at certain quays and bridges or stages. The system of conduits is of a later date. The sanitary arrangements were simple, each house having its privy with a cesspool, apparently detached from the house. The shops and warehouses or selds were open rooms on the ground floor, with stalls for exposing goods for sale outside in the street, over which pentices were occasionally erected.

The maintenance of the city walls, originally built by the Romans, was a source of constant anxiety. It is possible that the early sokes were established with a view to keeping them in repair, but there is little evidence on the point. The south wall seems to have been demolished in the tenth century. A portion of it existed in the ninth century,[9] but must have been pulled down soon afterwards, for the purpose of giving access to the increasing number of quays. The existence of the four churches, namely, All Hallows the Great,[10] All Hallows the Less, St. Magnus[11] and St. Botolph, Billingsgate,[12] outside the south wall, indicates that the wall here was destroyed before the Conquest. The general development of the extra mural district, however, on this side, except as giving access to the quays, did not come until the end of the thirteenth or begin-

[9] See p. 131.

[10] Confirmed to Tewkesbury Abbey in 1107, *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, ii, 490.

[11] Confirmed to Westminster Abbey in 1067, *Dep. Keeper's Rep.*, xxix, 35.

[12] Belonged to St. Paul's in 1181, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, ix, 16.

ning of the fourteenth century. It may perhaps be assumed, by the charter to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Worcester of 898, that the owners of the land within the south wall had rights over the land outside so far as their land extended along the wall inside, including the right of mooring ships.[13] These rights, outside the line of the southern wall, are shown perhaps by the parish boundaries which mark the limits of early ownership. It will be noticed that they are quite irregular northward of Thames Street, which marks the line of the city wall, but southward of that street they run in straight lines to the mid-stream of the river. The rights of way and other easements were claimed by the commons of London over parts of the lands south of Thames Street as late as 1343, and an inquiry at that date shows that the majority of the lanes here leading to the river were then of recent formation, and were claimed as the property of the owners of lands adjoining on the north side of Thames Street.[14]

The Tower and Castle Baynard blocked the approaches east and west at the southern ends of the wall, so that after Castle Baynard was destroyed in 1213 and the house of the Blackfriars had been built on the site, it became necessary to complete the defences by enclosing an additional piece of land. London had still for many years to depend on the strength of its walls, notwithstanding the change in the methods of warfare, and the impediments which the buildings around the walls must have been to its effective defence.

[13] See p. 131.

[14] *Mun. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), pt. ii, vol. ii, p. 446.

APPENDIX I

CHARTERS OF HENRY I AND HENRY II TO LONDON

I. CHARTER OF KING HENRY I[1]

Henricus dei gratia Rex Angl' archiepiscopo Cantuar' et Episcopis et abbatibus et comitibus et baronibus et justiciariis et vicecomitibus et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglicis totius Anglie Salutem.

Sciatis me concessisse civibus meis Londoniarum tenendum Middlesex' ad firmam pro ccc libris ad compotum ipsis et here dibus suis de me et heredibus meis ita quod ipsi cives ponent vicecomitem qualem voluerint de seipsis et justitiarium quemcunque vel qualem voluerint de seipsis ad custodienda placita corone mee et eadem placitanda et nullus alius erit justiciarius super ipsos homines Londoniarum.

Et cives non placitabunt extra muros civitatis pro nullo placito et sint quieti de schot et de loth de danegeldo et de murdro et nullus eorum faciat bellum.

Et si quis civium de placitis corone implacitatus fuerit per sacramentum quod judicatum fuerit in civitate se disrationet homo Londoniarum.

Et infra muros civitatis nullus hospitetur neque de mea familia neque de alia vi [nisi] alicui hospitium liberetur.

Et omnes homines Londoniarum sint quieti et liberi et omnes

[1] This charter is taken from the original Inspeximus of 25 May, 1 Hen. IV. A.D. 1400, which is at the Guildhall, London. The original charter was then probably lost, for in the case of other charters, the charters themselves are said to be inspected, but for this 'the tenor of the charter' only, it is stated, was inspected. For convenience in reference this charter has been divided into paragraphs.

eorum res et per totam Angliam et per portus maris de theloneo et passagio et lestagio et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus.

Et ecclesie et barones et cives habeant et teneant bene et in pace socas suas cum omnibus consuetudinibus ita quod hospites qui in sokis suis hospitabuntur nulli dent consuetudines nisi illi cujus soka fuerit vel ministro suo quem ibi posuerit.

Et homo Londoniarum non judicetur in misericordia pecunie nisi ad suam were scilicet ad c solidos dico de placito quod ad pecuniam pertineat.

Et amplius non sit miskenninge in hustengo neque in folkesmot neque in aliis placitis infra civitatem.

Et hustingum sedeat semel in ebdomada videlicet die Lune.

Et terras et vadimonia et debita civibus meis habere faciam infra civitatem et extra.

Et de terris de quibus ad me clamaverint rectum eis tenebo lege civitatis.

Et si quis theloneum vel consuetudinem a civibus meis Londoniarum ceperit cives Londoniarum in civitate capiant de burgo vel de villa ubi thelonium vel consuetudo capta fuerint (sic) quantum homo Londoniarum pro thelonio dedit et proinde de dampno ceperit.

Et omnes debitores qui civibus Londoniarum debita debent eis reddant in London' vel in Londoniis se disrationent quod non debent.

Quod si reddere noluerint neque quod non debent ad disrationandum venire tunc cives Londoniarum quibus debita sua debentur capiant namia sua in civitatem London' de burgo vel villa vel de comitatu in quo manet qui debitum debet.

Et cives Londoniarum habeant fugationes suas ad fugandum sicut melius et plenius habuerunt antecessores eorum scilicet Chiltre et Middlesex et Surreie.

Testibus Episcopo Wintoniense Roberto filio Richiero et Hugone Bigot et Aluero de Toteneis et Willelmo Alba Spina et Huberto Regis camerario et Willelmo de Mountfichet et Hangulfo de Tanei et Johanne Bellet et Roberto filio Sywardi Apud Westmonasterium.

II. CHARTER OF KING HENRY II[1]

Henricus Rex Angl' et dux Norm' et Aquit' et comes Andeg' archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus comitibus baronibus justiciariis vicecomitibus ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglicis tocius Anglie Salutem.

Sciatis me concessisse civibus meis Lundoniarum quod nullus eorum placitet extra muros civitatis Lundoniarum de ullo placito preter placita de teneuris exterioribus exceptis monetariis et ministris meis. Concessi etiam eis quietanciam murdri et infra urbem et in Portsoca et quod nullus eorum faciat duellum.

Et quod de placitis ad coronam pertinentibus se possunt disratiocinare secundum antiquam consuetudinem civitatis.

Et quod infra muros civitatis nemo capiat hospitium per vim vel per liberationem marescalli.

Hoc etiam eis concessi quod omnes cives Lundoniarum sint quieti de theoloneo et lestagio per totam Angliam et per portus maris et quod nullus de misericordia pecunie judicetur nisi secundum legem civitatis quam habuerunt tempore Regis Henrici avi mei. Et quod in civitate in nullo placito sit meskeninga.

Et quod hustingum semel tantum in ebdomoda teneatur.

Et quod terras suas et teneuras et vadimonia et debita omnia juste habeant quicunque eis debeat.

Et de terris suis et teneuris que infra urbem sint rectum eis teneatur secundum consuetudinem civitatis.

Et de omnibus debitis suis que accomodata fuerint apud Lundonias et de vadimoniis ibidem factis placita apud Lundonias teneantur.

Et siquis in tota Anglia theoloneum et consuetudinem ab hominibus Lundoniarum ceperit postquam ipse a recto defecerit vicecomes Lundoniarum namium inde apud Lundonias capiat.

[1] This text is taken from the original charter, which is preserved in duplicate at the Guildhall, London. For convenience in reference the charter has been divided into paragraphs.

Concedo etiam eis quod habeant fugationes suas ubicumque eas habuerunt tempore Regis Henrici avi mei.

Insuper etiam ad emendationem civitatis eis concessi quod omnes sint quieti de brudtolle et de childwite et de jeresgieve et de scotale; ita quod vicecomes meus Lundoniarum vel aliquis alius ballivus scotale non faciat.

Has predictas consuetudines eis concedo et omnes alias libertates et liberas consuetudines quas habuerunt tempore Regis Henrici avi mei quam (qñ) meliores vel liberiores habuerunt Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod ipsi et heredes eorum hec omnia predicta hereditarie habeant et teneant de me et de meis heredibus Testibus T. Archiepiscopo Cantuar', R. Episcopo Lundon', Philippo Episcopo Baiocense, Ernulfo Episcopo Lexoniense, T. Cancellario, R. de Novo Burgo, R. de Sancto Walero, R. de Waren, Walchelino Maminot, Ricardo de Luci, Guarino filio Geroldi, Manas' Biset, Loc' de Baillolio Apud Westmonasterium.[3]

[3] A fragment of the great seal is attached to each of the two copies of this charter at the Guildhall.

APPENDIX II

THE KING'S PALACE AND THE CATHEDRAL

At the period of the conversion of the Saxon kings to Christianity it was customary for the bishop's chair to be set up adjoining the royal residence. This practice was the outcome of the patriarchal idea then and for long afterwards prevalent, that the King was the temporal father of the people and not lord of a territory, he was King of the East Saxons or of the Mercians, not King of Essex or of Mercia. In the same way, the bishop was considered the King's chief priest and bishop or spiritual father of the people. Mellitus is described not as Bishop of London, but as Bishop of the East Saxons. Together the king and bishop formed the supreme authority, both temporal and spiritual. This is the reason for establishing sees and building cathedrals adjoining the royal residences at Dorchester, Sherborne, Lichfield, Selsey and Lindisfarne, places which would not have been chosen for their importance otherwise. The proximity of the cathedral to the royal residence can be traced at Canterbury, York, Winchester, and probably at all the earliest English sees. On the Continent, where the kings' residences were almost always established in cities, the same plan existed. Charlemagne built the cathedral at Aachen (Aix la Chapelle) next the palace in which he was born and died. We find the same arrangement at Cologne, Trèves and other episcopal cities. In England as continental practices spread to the country, the inconvenience of establishing sees in villages or small towns became recognised in the eleventh century, and at the Council of London of 1075 these sees were ordered to be moved to cities.

Thus the bishopric of Elmham was transferred to Norwich, Crediton to Exeter, Selsey to Chichester, Sherborne to Old Sarum, Lichfield to Chester, Dorchester to Lincoln, and so on.

In London we can trace the same development. The cathedral of St. Paul and the ecclesiastical establishment of the bishop adjoined the royal residence, whose site was afterwards called Aldermanbury, until Edward the Confessor built his palace at Westminster adjoining his monastery there, and a royal residence in London, except at the Tower, was abandoned.

APPENDIX III

EVIDENCE AS TO IDENTITY OF THE TWENTY-FOUR

The commune was granted to London on 8 October, 1191, but there was some delay in adopting it. In 1193, during the early part of Richard's detention in Germany, we have the first official recognition of the mayor, as one of the treasurers for the collection of the King's ransom. At the same time we have a record of the oath of the commune to be taken, apparently, by the freemen (Additional MS. 14,252, fol. 112d, printed by Mr. Round in *Commune of London*, 235), as follows :

Sacramentum commune tempore regis Ricardi quando detentus erat Alemaniam [sic].

Quod fidem portabunt domino regi Ricardo de vita sua et de membris et de terreno honore suo contra omnes homines et feminas qui vivere possunt aut mori et quod pacem suam servabunt et adjuvabunt servare et quod communam tenebunt et obedientes erunt maiori civitatis Lond[onie] et skivin[is] ejusdem commune in fide regis et quod sequentur et tenebunt considerationem maioris et skivinorum et aliorum proborum hominum qui cum illis erunt Salvo honore dei et sancte ecclesie et fide domini regis Ricardi et salvis per omnia libertatibus civitatis Lond[onie]. Et quod pro mercede nec pro parentela nec pro aliqua re omittent quin jus in omnibus rebus prosequentur et teneant pro posse suo et scientia et quod ipsi communiter in fide domini regis Ricardi sustinebunt bonum et malum et ad vitam et ad mortem. Et si quis presumeret pacem domini regis et regni perturbare ipsi consilio domine et domini Rothomagensis et aliorum justiciarum domini regis juvabunt fideles domini regis

et illos qui pacem servare volunt pro posse suo et pro scientia sua Salvis semper in omnibus libertatibus Lond[onie].

Thedmar, in his chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London, states under the year Michaelmas, 1200, to Michaelmas, 1201 (*Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, Camden Soc., p. 2):

Hoc anno fuerunt xxv electi de discretioribus civitatis et jurati pro consulendo civitatem una cum Maiore.

On 4 February, 1205–6, a writ was issued to the Barons of London for the election of twenty-four of the more lawful, wise and discreet citizens to consult about the amendment of the city (Printed in *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, Rec. Com., 64a, 7 John):

Rex Baronibus suis Lond[onie] etc. Datum est nobis intelligi quod civitas vestra Lond[onie] multum deterioratur et de die in diem sustinet detrimentum per defectum eorum qui hucusque fuerunt superiores in jure civitatis tractando et in tallagiis assedendis et ad opus nostrum colligendis et solvendis et in purpresturis civitatis vestre nobis vel justiciariis nostris confitendis et docendis et ex eo quod multa pecunia a communi populo civitatis quibusdam superiorum ad opus nostrum soluta est que adhuc nobis debetur Quia igitur juri et honori nostro et communi utilitati civitatis vestre de cetero providere volumus et pro defectu consilii nostri et juste correctionis nostre aliqua inter vos oriatur dissencio Vobis mandamus quod statim visis et auditis litteris istis per commune consilium vestrum et assensum eligi faciatis coram W. de Wroth[am] archidiacono Taunton' et R. de Cornhill' xxiiij de legalioribus et sapientioribus et discrecioribus concivibus vestris qui melius sciant et velint consulere juri et honori vestro et emendationi civitatis vestre in jure civitatis tractando et in dampnis vestris restaurandis et in emendationibus civitatis vestre ad fidem nostram faciendis. Et faciatis nobis habere nomina et cognomina illorum qui electi fuerunt ad omnia predicta expedienda per predictos W, et R, fideles nostros et

dilectos infra xv dies postquam has litteras susciperitis et audieritis Teste me ipso apud Lexinton iiij die Februarii.

It was possibly for the twenty-four elected under the above writ that the following oath, dated in the same year, was compiled (Additional MS. 14,252 fol. 110, printed by Mr. Round in *Commune of London*, 237):

Sacramentum xxiiij^{or} factum anno regni regis Johannis vij^{o}.

Quod legaliter intendent ad consulendum secundum suam consuetudinem juri domini regis quod ad illos spectat in civitate Lond[onie] salva libertate civitatis et quod de nullo homine qui in placito sit ad civitatem spectante aliquod premium ad suam conscientiam reciperent Et si aliquis illorum donum aut promissum dum in placitum fatiat illud nunquam recipient neque aliquis per ipsos vel pro ipsis Et quod illi nullum modum premii accipient nec aliquis per ipsos vel pro ipsis pro injuria allevanda vel pro jure sternendo Et concessum est inter ipsos quod si aliquis inde attinctus vel convictus fuerit libertatem civitatis et eorum societatem amittet.

Mr. Round (*Commune of London*, 235–45) discards the view that the twenty-four, whose oath is given above, were aldermen, assuming on a statement by Mr. Loftie that their number could not be that of the wards. On the analogy of the constitutions of Rouen he suggests that the twenty-four of London comprised twelve skevini and an equal number of councillors. This body, he thinks, formed the germ of the common council. "The vital distinction to be kept in mind is that the Alderman was essentially the officer in charge of a ward, while the common council, as one body, represented the city as a whole." He further points out that the twenty-four of Winchester were not aldermen.

Miss Mary Bateson (in *English Historical Review*, XVII, 507–8) argues that the twenty-four were chosen to exercise judicial as well as consultative duties, whereas the common council had no judicial function, and hence a difficulty arises in discarding

the identity between the twenty-four and the aldermen. The fact that the aldermen co-operated as givers of judgment in the husting, deserves further consideration as an argument in favour of the belief "that the twenty-four councillors in judgment were the twenty-four aldermen of wards, twenty-four men who in 11 Henry III rendered the account of the tallage of their wards." The alderman's oath, she asserts, more nearly resembles the oath of the twenty-four than that of the common councillor, for the alderman took part with the mayor in assizes, pleas and judgments of the husting and gave counsel touching the common profit of the city.

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